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THE WORKS OF JOHN MILTON

Ioannis Miltoni
A N G L I
P R O S E
DEFENSIO
CONTRA
Alexandrum Morum
ECCLESIASTEN,
Libelli famosi, cui titulus,
Regii sanguinis clamor ad
cœlum adversus Parricidas
Anglicanos, authorem reūc
dictum.

❧❧❧

LONDINI, ^{Dr. B.}
Typis Neucomianis. 1653.

THE WORKS OF
JOHN MILTON

VOLUME IX

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1933

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1933

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JOANNIS MILTONI
ANGLI
PRO SE DEFENSIO CONTRA
ALEXANDRUM MORUM, &c.

JOANNIS MILTONI

ANGLI

PRO SE DEFENSIO

CONTRA

ALEXANDRUM MORUM, &c.

NIHL equidem aut antea inauditum, aut meâ tum expectatione alienum, cùm Libertatis causam primò accepi defendendam, usu venturum mihi arbitratus sum, si liberatores Patriæ, cives meos, unus præ 5 cæteris publicè laudassem, Tyrannorum jus infinitum atque injurium coarguissem, ut improborum omnium in me propè unum ferrentur odia, atque redundarent. Prævidebam etiam tum bellum vobis, Angli, cum hostibus haud diuturnum; mihi cum perfugis, & eorum mercenariis sempiternum pro- 10 pemodum fore: ut quorum vos tela de manibus eripuissetis, eorum in me maledicta atque convicia eò acriùs conjicerentur. In vos ergo furor hostium atque impetus deferuit; mihi, ut

JOHN MILTON
AN ENGLISHMAN HIS
DEFENCE OF HIMSELF,
IN ANSWER TO
ALEXANDER MORE, &c.

AT THE time when I first undertook to vindicate the cause of liberty, I thought it would be no unheard of accident, nor, from the very beginning, was it at all foreign to my expectation, if I, who above the rest had 5 publicly applauded my fellow-citizens as the deliverers of their country, and had confounded the unlimited and mischievous prerogative of tyrants, should have the hatred of all the unprincipled accumulated almost upon me alone. Englishmen! I foresaw, likewise, that your contest with the enemy would 10 not be long; but that mine, with the fugitives and their hirelings, would be only not everlasting; because those, from whose hands you had wrested their arms, would therefore, with the greater bitterness, shower their curses and their reproaches upon me. Against you, then, the fury and violence 15 of the enemy have abated. To me, it seems, alone it remains

videtur, soli hujus belli reliquiæ supersunt; contemptissimæ quidem illæ, sed ut ferè sunt infimorum impetus animalium, satis infestæ. Non perditorum duntaxat civium, sed exterorum etiam ut quisque alienarum rerum plus nimiò curiosus, 5 ut quisque importunissimus, corruptissimúsque est, in me involat, officii tantummodo mei satagentem; in me omne virus & aculeos dirigit. Quo fit, ut quod plerique ad commendationem operis, & audientiam sibi faciendam præfari initio solent, se ab exili atque humili rerum materiâ ad res dictu gravissimas atque maximas aspirare, id mihi in præsentia nequaquam concessum sit; ut cui nunc contrà vel invito atque nolenti à rebus maximis & gloriosissimis dicendis ad res obscuras, anonymorum latebras, & adversarii turpisimi persequenda lustra atque flagitia necessariò sit descendendum. Quod etsi parum exordienti honorificum & ad reddendos lectorum animos attentiores minus accommodatum esse videatur, habet tamen quod exemplo haud absimili, cùm viris optimis & præstantissimis idem contigerit, consolari possit: siquidem & Africanus ipse Scipio, postquam ea gesse- 20 rat quibus nihil in eo laudis genere felicius aut majus potuit.

to terminate this war. These concluding attacks are indeed most contemptible; but like those from most low animals, they are full of venom. As all who are over-curious about other people's concerns, all who are mischievous and corrupt, 5 whether among our own profligate citizens, or among foreigners, fly upon me, who attend my own duty only, upon me will they point their venom and their stings. Whence it happens, that I am not at liberty, on the present occasion, to imitate the common practice of writers, with whom it is usual 10 to premise something in commendation of their work, with a view to procure a favorable hearing, and thus to raise themselves by degrees from what may be low or ordinary in their subjects, to those topics which may be of the greatest weight and importance: On the contrary, I am now obliged to stoop 15 from recounting achievements the most lofty and glorious, to things of no note or lustre,—to trace out the lurking holes of the nameless, and the haunts and the crimes of an adversary of the basest kind. Although this may appear little creditable to one who is making a beginning, and still less suited to gain 20 the attention of the reader, yet, when we consider that the same thing has happened to the best and most illustrious of men, my situation, by presenting a parallel, is not without its circumstances of consolation. Even Scipio Africanus himself, after he had performed those exploits, than which nothing, in 25 that line of glory, could be greater or more fortunate, after

inclinatione rerum suarum perpetuâ & decrescente semper suæ virtutis materiâ usus esse videtur: Et primò Dux quidem summus, atque Hannibale superior, mox contra hostem Syrum & imbellem Legatus, Tribunorum deinde impotentiâ 5 vexatus, suam tandem communire villam Liternensem contra fures atque latrones coactus est: in hac tamen rerum suarum declivitate atque descensu par ipse semper sibi & æqualis dicitur fuisse. Unde ego, atque aliis aliundè monitis, quicquid sortis aut provinciæ dederit modò Deus, multo licet priore 10 angustius, atque tenuius, id non aspernari erudior. Sed quemadmodum Dux bonus (quidni enim bonos in omni genere liceat imitari?) contra hostem qualemcumque boni Ducis officium explebit; vel si hoc nimis invidiosum est, ut sutor bonus, ita enim vir sapiens olim philosophatus est, ex eo quodcumque 15 est ad manum corio calceamentum quâm potest optimum conficiet, sic ego ex hoc calceamento (argumentum enim cùm instituisse dicere, puduit) trito præsertim jam antea atque dissuto, siquid concinnare quod legentium auribus tantum non fastidio sit potero, experiar, parsurus utique omnino 20 huic operæ, nisi accusations mihi nescio quas falsas, & mendacia objecisset adversarius, quam ego maculam aut suspicionem adhærere mihi minimè volo. Quando hoc necessariò tollendum mihi onus est, dabit quisque veniam, uti spero, si

his affairs began to wane, which they continued to do without interruption, he seems always to have fed upon the substance of his own worth. At the outset of his career, he was the first of generals, superior even to Hannibal; afterwards he was sent

5 to combat the Syrian, an unwarlike enemy; then he was harassed by the insolence of the tribunes, and last of all, he was constrained to fortify his own villa at Liternum, against thieves and robbers: yet, throughout this decline of his fortune, he is said to have been always the same, always equal to

10 himself. Hence I am taught, as likewise from lessons derived from other sources, not to despise any condition or any office that may be allotted me by God, however humble it may be, or however inferior to what I before enjoyed. But as a good general (for why should we not imitate the good in every

15 kind of excellence?) will do the duty of a good general against an enemy of any description; or, if this comparison be too invidious, as a good shoe-maker (for thus philosophized a wise man of ancient times) will make the best shoe he is able of the leather he may happen to have in hand, so I will try, if, out of

20 this shoe, (for when I had resolved on it, I was ashamed to call it an argument) though now worn and unsewn, I cannot patch up something at least, which the ears of my readers may not disdain. Still, I should have spared myself altogether this trouble, if my enemy had not thrown out against me accusations

25 and lies of such a nature, as I could not endure should adhere as a stain and a suspicion to my character. Forced then of necessity to undertake this task, I trust I shall be pardoned by all, if, as heretofore I was not found wanting to the people

populo qui non defui pridem & Reipublicæ, mihi met nunc non defuero.

Quoniam itaque *tuam fidem*, More, quam in ipso libelli titulo tu *publicam* vocas, Ego publicatam jamdudum & perditam scio, ita ultrò statim nobis obstringis, ut *si quid eorum in te agnosceres*, quæ de te ego scripserim, *majorem in modum irascerere*, ex ore inprimis tuo, quo laqueo solet improbus irretiri semper & capi, judicandum te omnibus atque damnandum addico. Cùm enim & ex perpetuâ calumniâ, quâ meum 10 omne dictum aut factum in deterrimam partem trahis, mèque obtruere invidiâ quæris, & ex contumeliis, quas semper iniquissimas undique in me arripis jaciendas, ex omnibus denique signis atque indiciis iræ facile appareat vehementissimè te, quamvis id usque neges, & apertissimè irasci, effugere non 15 potes quin arguaris agnoscere in te ea, quæ vel *affinxisse* tibi me ais, vel in lucem protulisse.

Duæ sunt res quarum ego te postulabam: altera injuriarum, altera flagitorum. Injuriarum, quòd libelli in nos clamossissimi Author extitisses; nam quòd populum Anglicanum 20 satis lèdere existimares te non posse, nisi me eximiè præter cæteros læsisses, id ego honori mihi potius, quâm con-

and to the commonwealth, I shall now show that I am not wanting to myself.

Since then, More, you thus voluntarily, and without ceremony, pledge to us your "faith," (which, in the very title of 5 your book you call "public," and which I have so long known to be venal and profligate) that "your anger would kindle in a still higher degree," if you should discover any truth in those strictures of mine upon you—I consign you, in the first instance, to the world, to be judged and condemned out of your 10 own mouth, the snare in which knaves are usually entangled and caught. For whereas, from your calumnious disposition, which impels you to distort every word and deed of mine to its worst purpose, and to overwhelm me with malice; from the contumely, ever most iniquitous, which, in your infernal 15 eagerness, you would get poured upon me from all quarters; lastly, since from every mark and indication of anger, it is abundantly plain, nay, most notorious, though you persist in denying it, that you are wrought up to the highest pitch of rage—you have no other choice left you, than to plead guilty 20 to those crimes, which I have brought to light against you, but which you assert I have "fabricated" for you.

The charges I brought against you are principally two; one is of the class of injuries, the other, of debaucheries. The injury is, that you came forward as the author of that most clamorous libel against us: for, your thinking that you could not do enough injury to the people of England, without injuring me in an especial manner above the rest, I regard as honourable to me, rather than injurious. To blazon your debaucheries as

tumeliae duco. Flagitia vero tua commemorare, ut dignum erat, idcirco non gravabar, ut ostenderem, siquidem is est habendus clamoris author, qui edidit, & aliis certe praeter te nemo hactenus comparuit, quam casto ex ore clamor 5 ille prorupisset. Quid tu ad haec negas te authorem illius libelli; & ita sedulò, ita prolixè negas, cum tamen liber ille nequaquam tibi displiceat, ut magis mihi pertimuisse videare, ne illum librum scripsisse, quam ne illa in te tot probra admisisse reperiaris; de quibus sic leviter & timidè, sed simul 10 versutè ac veteratoriè te purgas, ut nemo non subesse ulcus perspiciat. Haud incallido fortasse consilio; nam quis unum libellum scripserit, quam quis multa stupra fecerit difficilior longè est probatio; libellus sine arbitris confici potuit; haec sine sociis, & scelerum consciis non potuerunt: illic vestigia 15 penè nulla necessariò apparent; hic plurima indicia & praecedunt, & unà adsunt, & subsequuntur. Itaque, si pernegasses ad te illum librum pertinere, arbitraris èdem operà & fidem meam de reliqua tua vita saltem apud longinquos infirmari, & meā credulitate atque injuriā, quā te scilicet temerè vio 20 lassem, tuam magnā ex parte levari infamiam: sin ire inficias

they deserved, believe me, I was nothing loath, as I would make appear: for, he is to be considered as the author of the *Cry*, who published it. Besides, it is certain, that no other person but yourself has yet appeared, from whose pure lips

5 that *Cry* should have proceeded. What is your answer to this? You deny that you were the author of that libel; and this you do with so much earnestness, and at such length, though at the same time nothing disapproving the book, that you seem to me to have been more afraid, lest you should be made out to

10 be the author of that production, than of admitting those numerous and scandalous actions with which you were reproached; and which, with a view to clear yourself, you touch so gently and timidly, though at the same time, with so much art, so much like an old practitioner, that any one may perceive there is a sore underneath. This perhaps was no bad policy: for, with the man who has written only one libel proof is far more difficult than with him who has been guilty of many acts of fornication. A libel may be manufactured without witnesses; fornication cannot take place without a

15 partner and accessories. In the former case, it is not necessary that any traces almost should appear; in the latter, various indications precede, accompany, and follow. Hence, by stoutly denying that the book is yours, you thought that my credit with respect to the other parts of your conduct,

20 would also be invalidated, at least for people at a distance; and that, on account of my credulity, and of the rash and injurious manner in which I had assailed you, your ignominy would, in a great measure, be removed. But, if you failed in getting

de libello non posses, restare tibi hoc solum prævidebas, quo nihil difficilius erat aut acerbius ut de moribus & flagitiis haud perfunctoriè respondendum tibi esset. Verùm ego nisi hoc doceo, nisi planum facio aut te authorem illius libelli famosissimi in nos esse, aut te satis causæ præbuisse cur pro authore meritò haberi debeas, non recuso quin abs te victus in hac causâ cum dedecore atque pudore turpiter discedam; nullam à me culpam neque imprudentiæ, neque temeritatis neque male-dicentiæ deprecor.

10 Prodiit hoc biennio anonymous & probrosus liber, *Regii sanguinis clamor ad cœlum adversus Parricidas Anglicanos* inscriptus; in quo libro, cùm Respublica Anglorum tota, tum nominatim *Cromuellus*, eo quidem tempore nostrorum exercituum Imperator, nunc totius Reipublicæ vir summus,

15 omni verborum contumeliâ laceratur: Secundùm eum, sic illi anonymo visum est, maledictorum pars maxima in me conjicitur. Vix suis integer schedulis liber iste in Consilio mihi est traditus; ab eo mox consessu qui quæstionibus tum præfuit, alter mittitur: significatum quoque est, expectari à

20 me hanc operam Reipublicæ navandam, ut huic importuno clamatori os obturarem. Verùm me, tum maximè, & infirma simul valetudo, & duorum funerum luctus domesticus, &

through with your denial as to the libel, you foresaw, that the only alternative left you, however tart, however much against the grain, would be, to return an answer, and that no very slight and superficial one, concerning your manners and 5 scandalous behaviour. Nevertheless, if I cannot prove, if I cannot make it plain, either that you were the author of that notorious libel against us, or that you have given sufficient cause for being deservedly considered as the author, I refuse not to acknowledge myself vanquished by you in this cause, 10 and ingloriously to retire with shame and dishonour. I do not even deprecate the imputation of any offence, whether it be of imprudence, of rashness, or of slander.

It is now two years since was published, the opprobrious book entitled, *The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven against the English Parricides*. In this book, the commonwealth of England, and Cromwell in particular, (who was at that time the leader of our armies, but who is now the first man in the state) are loaded with the grossest calumnies of which language can be the interpreter. Next after Cromwell, (for 15 thus it seemed good to the anonymous scribbler) the largest share of the abuse falls upon me. The book was scarcely complete in sheets, before it was put into my hands in the council. Soon after that sitting, another copy is sent me by the person who was then president, accompanied with the intimation, 20 that the commonwealth expected my services to stop the mouth of this importunate crier. But at that time, in an especial manner, I was oppressed with concerns of a far different nature. My health was infirm, I was mourning the recent loss 25

defectum jam penitus oculorum lumen diversâ longè sollicitudine urgebat: foris quoque adversarius ille prior, isti longè præferendus, impendebat; jamjamque se totis viribus incursum indies minitabatur: quo drepente mortuo levatum
5 me parte aliquâ laboris ratus, & valetudine partim desperatâ, partim restitutâ, utcunque confirmatus, ne omnino vel summorum hominum expectationi deesse, vel omnem inter tot mala abjecisse curam existimationis viderer, ut primùm de isto Clamatore anonymo certum aliquid comperiendi facultas
10 data est, hominem aggredior. De te, *More*, dictum hoc volo: quem ego (quamvis tu nunc, quasi insons omnium atque insciens falsò te accusari vocifereris) nefandi illius clamoris vel esse authorem, vel esse pro authore haud injuriâ habendum statuo. Et cur sic statuam nunc audies. Primùm ego,
15 neque hoc leve putaveris, famam communem, consentientem, constantem sum sequutus: neque eam solum quæ populi vox, & ab antiquis Dea credita est, & à nobis hodiè vox Dei nuncupatur, sed eam etiam, ut legitimè tecum agi intelligas, quam Jurisperiti ab authoribus & probis & benè notis exortam,
20 fidem adjicere testimonio docent. Verè hoc dico & religiosè,

of two relatives, the light had now utterly vanished from my eyes. Besides, my old adversary abroad, a far more desirable one than the present, hovered for an attack, and now daily threatened to descend upon me with all his force. But considering myself relieved from a certain portion of my task, by his sudden death; and being somewhat re-established in health, by its being in part restored and in part desperate; that I might not appear as disappointing altogether the expectation of persons of the first consequence, and amid so many calamities, to have abandoned all regard for reputation; as soon as an opportunity was given me of collecting any certain information concerning this anonymous crier, I commence my attack upon him.

Of you, More, I would have it to be understood, that I pronounce you to be either the author of that hell-born *Cry*, or to be justly considered as the author; in spite of your noisy protestations of unconscious innocence, and that you are falsely accused. The reasons why I pronounce you the author, you shall now hear. In the first place (nor think this any trifling evidence) I was guided by common report, uniformly accordant; and not merely that rumour which is called the voice of the people, and was by the ancients believed to be a goddess, and which we now call the voice of God; but also that report (that you may know you have been lawfully dealt with) which, as arising from honest and well-known authors, those learned in the law teach us to credit as testimony. I declare, with even a religious reverence of truth, that during the whole two years, I had no conversation on the subject of the said

me toto biennio nullum neque popularem, neque peregrinum convenisse, cum quo de istoc libello sermones mihi fuissent, quin omnes unâ voce te ejus Authorem dici consentirent, neminem præter te alium nominarent. Ita universim obtinuit 5 hæc fama, ut te possim ipsum hujus rei testem producere. Recita tuum ipse testimonium.

Testimonium Mori, pag. 10.

Neque verò tacui, si cui fortè subiit aliquid ejusmodi su-
10 spicari, sed palam & exertè respondi reclamans, conquestúsque sum invito supponi mihi fœtum alienum, siquidem illius auctor libri vel ex parte vel in totum existimarer.

Quamvis hoc falsum sit tacuisse te, aut reclamasse quod plurimi testantur, qui te de eo libro & confidentem & glori-
15 antem audierunt, dum hoc tutum tibi, aut lucro aut honori credidisti fore, hīc tamen vides, quām hæc fuerit concepta altè, nec sine causa proculdubio, hominum opinio, ut ne familiaribus quidem tuis persuadere potueris, quo minùs *reclamantem te & conquerentem* atque *invitum* illius libri 20 authorem *vel ex parte vel in totum existimarint*. Quid si ego, qui te nostris partibus inimicissimum esse, & de Republicâ nostrâ pessimè solere loqui intelligerem, hâc plus quam famâ nixus, hâc hominum non vulgarium communi opinione atque consensu adductus, hoc pro certo sumpsissem, te hunc libel-
25 lum composuisse? Tu contra quid affers, quamobrem tantæ

libel either with native or foreigner, but they all with one voice agreed to proclaim you the author, and did not even mention any other name but yours. This report therefore prevailed universally, of which I can produce you yourself as an 5 evidence. Let us hear your own testimony.

More's Testimony, page 10.

“So far from being silent, when any one happened to suspect any thing of this sort, I openly and strenuously denied it, complaining that a supposititious birth was being fathered 10 upon me against my will, if I were thought to be the author of that book, either wholly or in part.”

Though this be false, whether you were silent, or whether you denied what numbers testify who have heard your confessions and boastings about that book, while you thought such 15 conduct safe for you, or for your profit or credit; yet, observe here, how deeply founded was this opinion of mankind, and not without good reason indeed, when you could not persuade even your own familiar friends with all your “denials,” your “complainings,” and your “unwillingness,” to think that you 20 were not the author of that book, “either wholly or in part.” What if I, who knew you to be implacably hostile to our party, and that you are accustomed to speak in terms of the vilest abuse of our commonwealth, grounding myself and being guided not by mere rumour but by the unanimous opinion 25 of the least vulgar of mankind—what if I (I say) had taken it for granted that you had written this libel? What reason do

hominum, etiam amicorum tuorum consensioni de inimico
 nostro facilè habere fidem non debuerim? Factum negas. At
 quotusquisque est reorum, qui multis etiam testibus in judicio
 convictus atque damnatus, in ipso supplicii loco, ubi etiam
 5 pœnâ capitali jamjam plectendus est, pernegare crimen suum
 non soleat; immò secretum quodvis anteactæ vitæ facinus
 suum proferre in lucem non malit, cuius pœnas meritas dare
 se nunc dicat, quâm de illo crimine confiteri de quo sit con-
 demnatus? Accedit quod is tum negat, cùm sententiâ jam
 10 latâ, cùm expeditâ & imminentे jam securi, nihil juvat neque
 prodest negare: Tu propterea, quòd prodest, quòd est cur
 metuas, quòd manendum tibi in iis provinciis, si faterere, non
 esset, idcirco negas. Pacis articulos inter Nos & Fœderatas
 Provincias *Latinè conditos* vertisse te dicis. Legito itaque no-
 15 num, decimum, & undecimum, quos tu cùm vertebas, solùm
 vertere debuisti.

Articulus pacis nonus:

Quod neutra dictarum Rerumpublicarum hostes alterius
 Reipublicæ declaratos vel declarandos, in ejus dominia reci-
 20 piet, neque eorum alicui in prædictis locis vel aliò quocunque,
 etiam extra sua dominia auxilium, consilium, hospitium con-

you bring, why I should not, without scruple, yield assent to this striking agreement of men, and especially of your own friends, concerning a person who is our enemy? You deny the fact. But, how few are the criminals, who though convicted and condemned at the tribunal by numerous witnesses, do not obstinately deny their guilt, at the very place of execution, where they are that instant to suffer death? How few are there, who would not prefer laying open every hidden villainy of their past lives, and acknowledging at this moment 5 that they justly deserved punishment for them all, to confessing themselves guilty of the crime of which they are condemned? The criminal then persists in denial, after sentence is passed, nay when the ax of the executioner is at hand, and even uplifted for the stroke, when it can be neither pleasure 10 nor profit to him to deny. Whereas you deny for the very reason, that it is for your profit, because you have ground for apprehension, because, if you made confession, you would no longer be harboured in those provinces. You say 15 that you were the person who translated the articles of the peace, which were drawn up in Latin, between us and the United Provinces. Read then the ninth, the tenth, and the eleventh articles, the ones which it became you alone to 20 translate.

Article the Ninth of the Peace.—“That neither of the said 25 republics shall receive into its dominions the declared enemies of either republic, or those about to be declared; nor shall afford aid, counsel, entertainment to any such, in the aforesaid places, or in any other whatsoever, even without their

cedet, nec istiusmodi hostibus ullum auxilium, consilium, hospitium, favorem, pecunias præstari permittet.

Articulus decimus.

Quod si alterutra dictarum Rerumpublicarum aliquem
 5 suum fuisse & esse hostem, & in sua dominia receptum esse,
 aut ibidem commorari per literas suas publicas alteri signifi-
 caverit, tunc illa Respublica quæ hujusmodi literas receperit,
 intra spatum viginti octo dierum tenebitur dicto hosti man-
 dare, ut extra sua dominia exeat. Et si quis prædictorum ho-
 10 stium intra quindecimum diem non exiverit, singuli morte &
 amissione bonorum multabuntur.

Articulus undecimus.

Quod nullus hostis publicus Reipublicæ Angliæ in aliqua
 oppida, vel alia loca recipietur; neque Domini Ordines Gene-
 15 rales alicui hujusmodi hosti publico in locis prædictis, pecu-
 niis, commeatu, aut alio quocunque modo auxilium, consilium,
 aut favorem dari permittent.

Hæccine audis? quām diligenter, quām severè ab utraque
 Republica tribus continuis articulis cautum atque provisum
 20 sit, ne quis alterius hostis ab alterutra vel hospitio vel tecto
 recipiatur; qui hostis declaratus vel declarandus ab alterutrâ
 sit, ei ut aquâ & igni ab altera sit interdicendum, ut morte
 etiam multandus sit, ni intra dies quindecim post denuncia-
 tum sibi discessum sarcinas collegerit? Hæccine, inquam,
 25 sine metu ac trepidatione audis? qui si hostis esse aut fuisse
 deprehendêris, nōsque ut viros fortes decet, in sententia per-

own dominions; nor shall suffer to be afforded any aid, counsel, entertainment, favour, money, to any such enemies."

Article the Tenth.—“That if either of the said republics shall signify to the other by its public letters, that any person, 5 who was and is its enemy, has been received into that other's dominions, or has taken up his abode there, then that republic, which shall have received such letters, shall be held bound to order the said enemy to depart out of its dominions, within the space of twenty-eight days. And if any of the aforesaid 10 enemies shall fail to depart within fifteen days, they all and each shall be punished with death and confiscation of goods.”

Article the Eleventh.—“That no public enemy of the commonwealth of England shall be received into any towns, or into any other places, nor shall the Lords the States General 15 suffer to be given aid, counsel, or favour to any such public enemy in the places aforesaid, whether in money or provisions, or in any other way whatsoever.”

Do you hear all this? With what circumspect diligence and rigour those republics, in three successive articles, have provided against the tendering of hospitality or shelter by either 20 to any enemy of the other; which enemy, whether declared or about to be declared by either, is to be forbidden fire and water by the other, and to be punished even with death, unless he packs up his all, within fifteen days after his departure is 25 announced to him? Do you hear all this, I say, without fear and trembling? When, if, in the place where you have those salaries and professorships of sacred history, it should be discovered, that you either are, or have been an enemy, you

sistemus, neque articulos otiosos ad numerum duntaxat compo-
sui-
mus, ubi tua illa stipendia, & sacrarum Historiarum pro-
fessiones? cui de tota illa ditione intra paucos dies deceden-
5 dum erit; & relictis Historiis, illa vitæ tuæ fabula nequissima
nescio quibus in terris peragenda. Quis enim hostis noster
magis publicus est dicendus, quàm is, qui libro famosissimo
in vulgus edito totam Angliæ Rempublicam inhumanissimis
verborum contumeliis proscindit atque dilaniat? latrociniis,
cædis, perduellionis, impietatis, parricidii, immò novo pror-
10 sus vocabulo deicidii demùm incusat; omnes Principes, Po-
pulos, Nationes in nos, tanquam in monstra ac pestes generis
humani ad arma, quantum in se est, concitat; & quasi ad
commune atque sacrum bellum nobis inferendum hortatur?
Hunc tu confecisse librum nisi pertinaciter negares, nullus
15 nunc locus consistendi iis in locis tibi esset. Cùm igitur tibi
tam sit omnino periculosum fateri, cùm incolumitatis & com-
modorum tuorum, ac prope salutis tam vehementer intersit
librum istum ejurare, cur tua inimici & improbissimi homi-
nis negatio contra famam constantem, immò verò quod plus
20 est, contra tot hominum satis perspicacium, & amicorum ali-
quot tuorum opinionem valere debeat, non video. At enim
dicis, non te solum negasse; testem habere *reverendum anti-*

would be constrained within a few days to bid adieu to all that authority of yours, and throwing aside your histories, to act out the infamous story of your life, in foreign lands? Unless, indeed, we ourselves, disgracing the character of men of 5 vigour, should be found to have penned articles that are of no other use than to swell the number. For who can be considered as a more public enemy of ours, than he who in a book of the greatest possible notoriety distributed among the vulgar, lacerates and cuts up the whole commonwealth of England 10 with instruments of contumely the most savage which words can furnish? He charges us with robbery, murder, treason, impiety, parricide, and lastly from a vocabulary altogether new, with deicide! To the utmost of his power, he incites to arms against us all princes, people, and nations, as against the 15 monsters and the pests of the human race; he animates them to the attack, as to a common and holy war! If you had not pertinaciously denied that you had fabricated that book, there would now be no abiding place for you in those parts. Since, then, confession is a matter of such extreme peril to you; since 20 it behoves you, for your personal security, for your comforts, and even for your life, to swear off that book with an earnestness so vehement; why this denial of yours, from a man without probity, and an enemy, in contradiction to unvarying report, nay more, in contradiction to the opinion of so many 25 persons of no small sagacity, and even of some among your own friends—why this denial of yours (I say) should avail against all this evidence, I cannot perceive. But, say you, I am not the only one who makes this denial; I have an evidence

stitem Ottonum, qui clarissimum Duræum admonuerit te illius libri non esse auctorem, sibi probè notum auctorem longè alium. Itaque ex ipsis Duræi literis ostendam, neque probè hoc novisse Ottonum, neque testem omnino esse, vel 5 siquid testatur, ex eo reddi te multo quâm antea suspectiorem.

Ex literis Duræi, Hagâ, April $\frac{14}{24}$ 1654.

Quod ad responsum Miltoni ad eum librum, cui titulus Regii sanguinis clamor: Evidem à Ministro quodam Midelburgensi, qui Mori perfamiliaris est, certior sum factus, Morum non esse illius libri authorem, sed Ministrum quendam Gallicum, quem Morus sub conditione silentii eidem nominavit.

Et ex alteris Amsterodamo, April. $\frac{19}{29}$ 1654.

Cum D. Ottono colloquutus sum; hic quidem acerrimè 15 Regius est, & Moro perquam intimus; idque mihi dixit, quod superioribus literis ad te scripsi, Morum non esse *Clamoris Regii sanguinis* authorem.

Ex quibus hoc in primis nemo non intelligit, Ottono, ut qui partibus Regiis addictissimus, nobis inimicissimus, Moro 20 à secretis sit, nec si suâ quidem fide quicquam afferat, credendum esse. Nunc autem cùm apertè fateatur Ottonus, quicquid hac de re sciat, abs te hausisse, tuâ solâ autoritate niti, tuum hoc apud se depositum arcanum esse, non hoc Ottoni testi-

in Otto, "a reverend and eminent divine," who "intimated to the illustrious Durær, that I was not the author of the book, and that the real author, a very different person, was well known to him." Now, I shall demonstrate from the letters of 5 Durær himself, that Otto did not know this real author, and that he is no evidence at all; or if so, that you become from that circumstance far more obnoxious to suspicion than before.

Extract of a letter of Durær, Hague, April $\frac{14}{24}$, 1654.

"As to Milton's reply to the book, entitled *The Cry of the 10 Royal Blood*, I have been informed, by a minister of Middelburg, an intimate friend of More's, that More was not the author of that book, but some French minister, engaged by More, under promise of secrecy, for that purpose."

And of another, Amsterdam, April $\frac{19}{29}$, 1654.

15 "In conversing with D. Otto, an acrimonious royalist and very intimate with More, he told me, what I have written you in a former letter, that More was not the author of the *Cry of the Royal Blood*."

From these extracts, everybody, at the first blush 20 concludes, that Otto being devoted tooth and nail to the royalist party, an implacable foe to us, and the confidant of More, is not to be believed even when he adduces testimony on his own authority. But now, when Otto publicly confesses, 25 that he derived every thing he knows about the matter from you, that he relied solely on your authority, that it was you who deposited the secret with him, this is not the tes-

monium, sed tua adhuc sola negatio est: immò verò potiùs tua clara confessio dicenda erit, illius te libelli vel componendi vel procurandi cum paucissimis esse conscientium; si non authorem, at certè socium & administrum; vel tuâ operâ vel tuo 5 consilio librum illum fuisse editum. Quod si ita est, ut est sanè per tuum testem, ex tuomet ipsius ore verisimillimum, equidem haud metuo, ne te falsò insimulasse dicar, si vel authorem ipsum affirmaverim te, vel eodem numero habu-
erim. Quis non jam planè perspiciat, quām penitus ex sinu 10 tuo liber iste prodierit? quām non de nihilo constantissima de te ista fama invaluerit? verùm adhuc clariùs hoc idem statim perspicere cuivis licebit. Jam enim à fama, quod postmodum apparebit, minimè fallaci, ne vocis invidiâ contra me utaris, ad justam probationem & compertissimos mihi testes transeo.
15 Accipe in primis literarum partem, quæ haud ita multo pòst Lugduno Batavorum sunt datae, quām libellus iste clamosus Hagæ-Comitis est editus. Missæ sunt hæ literæ ad amicum quendam meum ab homine & docto & prudente, & rerum peritissimo, mihi satis noto, & in Hollandia notissimo: in 20 quibus libelli cujusdam famosi factâ mentione, hæc statim verba subjungit.

timony of Otto, but your own denial, still the only one: nay, it should rather be called your plain confession, either, that you composed the said libel, or that, with the fewest possible coadjutors, you were privy to procuring its composition; 5 that if you are not the author, you are at least an associate and fellow-labourer; or, that the book was published either by your instrumentality, or at your recommendation. If this be the fact, as by your own testimony, out of your own mouth, is, it must be confessed, extremely probable, I am indeed under 10 very little apprehension of being charged with accusing you falsely, though I should positively affirm that you were either the real author, or one of the associates. Who does not now clearly perceive, that the said book proceeded altogether from your own breast? That it was not for nothing, that report was 15 uniformly constant concerning you?

But this will soon appear to everybody in a yet stronger light: for, I now pass from a report (that you use not the word's odium against me), which, as will hereafter be seen, is by no means fallacious, to proper proof, and to witnesses 20 whom I know to be unexceptionable. Take first a passage from a letter, dated Leyden, written but a short time after the publication of this crying libel at the Hague. This letter was sent to a certain friend of mine, by a person of learning and prudence, and very well acquainted with affairs—a man 25 sufficiently well known to myself, and in Holland, very generally known. Having mentioned in this letter, a certain celebrated libel, he immediately adds these words.

Literæ Leidenses, Septemb. 27. stilo novo. 1652.

Nec majoris momenti est iste Mori liber, cui titulus Clamor Regii sanguinis ad cœlum: satisque vendibilis fuit, donec Author illius vitiatâ Salmasii uxoris ancillâ, ipse suam existi-
5 mationem commaculavit. Hæ literæ, eodem puto mense, integræ sunt evulgatæ, inque actis diurnis apud nos, quinto quoque die hebdomadæ prodire solitis, palam extant; ejusque authoritate vel qui misit eas, vel qui edidit, fidem facile suam tueruntur, meam absolvunt. Hæc habui neque levia, neque ullo
10 modo contemnenda, cur hunc Regii sanguinis clamorem opus tuum esse crediderim: famam constantem, non vulgi, sed amplissimorum hominum per biennium totum opinionem atque consensum, literas viri intelligentissimi atque honestissimi vicina ex urbe missas, quibus an quid certius in re præ-
15 sertim longinqua de inimico & extraneo homine, & omni infamia jamdudum cooperto, expectandum fuerit aut requirendum, haud scio. Age verò; ne tu me tristem nimis & obstinatum queraris, aliquanto laxius te habebo, quo deinde fortius teneam atque constringam: quoniam attributum tibi librum
20 elegantulum sic aversaris atque horres, contra hæc omnia quæ afferre hactenus potui tam valida, tuam valere singularem &

Letter from Leyden, September 27, new style, 1652.

“Nor is that book of More’s, entitled *The Cry of the Royal Blood to Heaven*, of greater consequence. It sold well enough indeed, till its author stained his own reputation, by debauching the servant-girl of Salmasius’s wife.” This letter entire was made public, I think the same month, and may now be read by everybody in the public journal published in this country on Thursdays. Its claim to credit is easily proved, by the authority either of the writer or publisher; by which authority too my own credit is saved.

My reasons then (and they are no trifling or despicable ones) for thinking that this *Cry of the Royal Blood* is your work, are these—unvarying report; the opinion and agreement, through two whole years, not of the vulgar, but of men of the first character; and the letters of persons, eminent for their understanding and probity, sent from a neighbouring city. I know not what clearer proof could be expected or required, especially in a transaction which took place at a great distance, with a person who is an enemy, and that enemy a foreigner covered with every species of infamy?

But come; that you may not complain of me as being too severe and determined, I will handle you somewhat more loosely, only, however, that I may by and by wring and grip you the harder. Since you cannot think without horror of that dainty book being ascribed to you, I will admit, in contradiction of all those strong facts I have thus far been able to bring

suspectissimam negationem patiar; remittam tibi hoc totum atque largiar, non esse te hujus libelli, qui Regii sanguinis clamor inscribitur, authorem; & tamen, quod jam forsitan expectas, non sic abibis. Constat iste liber & coagmentatur 5 procœmiis quibusdam & epilogis, *Epistolâ ad Carolum*, alterâ ad *Lectorem*, clauditur carmine, altero in *Salmasium Eucharistico*, altero in me diffamatorio: si ullam hujus libri paginam, si versiculum fortè unicum scripsisse aut contulisse, si edidisse, aut procurasse, aut suasisse, si denique edendo præ- 10 fuisse, aut vel operæ tantillum accommodasse te reperero, quandoquidem nemo alias existit, tu mihi solus totius operis reus, & author, & clamator eris. Neque verò meam hanc se- veritatem, aut vehementem animum esse dixeris; idem apud omnes ferè gentes jure & æquissimis legibus est comparatum. 15 Quod ab omnibus receptissimum est, adducam, jus civile Imperatorium.

Legito Institut. Justiniani, l. 4. de injuriis, Tit. 4.

Siquis ad infamiam alicujus libellum, aut carmen (aut historiam) scripserit, composuerit, ediderit, dolóve malo 20 fecerit, quo quid eorum fieret, &c. Adjiciunt aliæ leges: *Etiam si alterius nomine ediderit, vel sine nomine.* Et omnes decernunt eum pro authore habendum esse atque plectendum. Quæro nunc ex te, non utrùm Regii sanguinis clamorem, sed

forward, your single and most suspicious denial to have weight; I will give up, and freely grant to you the point, that you are not the author of the libel called *The Cry of the Royal Blood*; still, as peradventure you already suspect, you will not 5 escape thus. It is well known, that this book is patched up with certain poems and epilogues, with an epistle to Charles, another to the reader, and that it concludes with a poem, in part congratulatory of Salmasius, in part defamatory of me. Now, if I find, that you wrote or contributed a single page of 10 this book, nay a single versicle; that you were the publisher, or caused or advised it to be published; lastly, that you super-intended its publication, or forwarded the business in the smallest degree, I shall set you down, since no other person appears, as guilty of the whole affair—as at once the author and 15 the crier. Nor think this the mere ebullition of my own violent and impetuous temper, when, among almost all nations, the same thing is ordained of right, and by the most equal laws. I shall quote what is universally of the highest authority —the civil imperial law.

20 *See Institutes of Justinian, book 4, of Injuries, tit. 4.*

“If any one shall write, compile, or publish a pamphlet, or poem (or history) or by mal-engine, shall cause any of these things to be done, to the defamation of another,” &c. Other laws add; “although he publish in the name of another, or 25 even without name”; and they all decide, that he is to be considered and punished as the author. Now I demand of you, whether you compiled, wrote, published, or caused to be pub-

an præmissam clamori epistolam Carolo dicatam, ullámve ejus particulam feceris, scripseris, edideris, edendámve curaveris? quæro an alteram ad lectorem, quæro denique an illud infame carmen condideris, aut vulgandum curaveris? nihil 5 dum ad hæc respondisti; si clamorem ipsum tantummodo abdicasses, omnémque ejus particulam gnaviter ejurasses, salvâ fide evasisse te putabas, nósque probè ludificasse; Epistolam videlicet ad Carolum filium, aut ad Lectorem, carmen etiam Iambum, Regii sanguinis clamorem non esse. Tu itaque 10 sic breviter habeto, ne tergiversari in posterum queas, aut prævaricari; ne diverticulum ullum, aut latibulum sperare; ut jam sciant omnes quæm non mendax, sed veriloqua, aut saltem non de nihilo ista fama de te increbuerit, tu, inquam, sic habeto: me non famâ solùm, sed eo testimonio, quo nullum 15 certius esse potest, comperisse, te & libelli totius, cui Regii sanguinis Clamor est titulus, editionem administrasse, & operam typographicam correxisse, & Epistolam illam ad Carolum secundum, Vlacci nomen præferentem, vel solum, vel *cum uno atque altero* composuisse. Id quod tuum ipsum 20 nomen, Alexander Morus, exemplis aliquot illius epistolæ subscriptus, multis ejus rei testibus oculatis clariùs indicavit, quæm ut negare aut expedire te ullo pacto queas. Si dicis, importunitati quorundam amicorum te hoc dedisse, ut epistolæ nomen tuum apponeres, non aliunde quæm ex ore tuo sic ex- 25 cusanti tibi occurro. Qui solenniter affirmas, & eo præsertim

lished, not the *Cry of the Royal Blood*, but the epistle, dedicated to Charles, prefixed to the *Cry*, or even the smallest scrap of it? I demand of you whether you composed or procured the publication of that other epistle, addressed to the 5 reader, or of that infamous poem. You have not replied. If you disclaimed only the *Cry* itself, if you basely abjured every particle of it, you flattered yourself that you had come off with your credit unimpaired, and us befooled! for, forsooth, the epistle to Charles the son, or to the reader, or even 10 the poem in iambics, is not the *Cry of the Royal Blood!* Now, take this in brief, that henceforward you may have no resource in subterfuge or prevarication, nor hope from any petty diversion, nor even from close covert. That all men may realize that the report concerning you, was not false, but true, 15 or at least that it arose not out of nothing; know this: I have discovered, not by report only, but by testimony; than which there can be none more certain, that it was you who managed the publication of the whole libel entitled *The Cry of the Royal Blood*; that you corrected the press; and that you 20 wrote the epistle to Charles the Second, which bears the name of Vlaccus, either entirely, or in conjunction with some associate. This is proved by too strong an evidence for you to deny, or in any way to get quit of, from the circumstance of your own name, Alexander More, being found subscribed in some 25 of the copies of that letter as attested by many eye-witnesses. If you urge, that you yielded so far to the importunity of friends, as to put your name to the letter; then, if this be your excuse, I have no more to do than to refute you out of your

loco paginæ 39. in quo, ut credatur tibi enixè flagitas *tueri te tua, aliena tunc demum forte curaturum, cum excussus propriis fueris.* Teipso itaque flagitante, credendum non est te nomen tuum illi Epistolæ fuisse subscripturum, tua nisi esset: 5 id quod sequente paginâ penè confiteris, tuámque ipse fraudem detegis & fallaciam, quâ fretus Clamoris authorem te esse toties negas. *Nam quis non misereatur, inquis, hallucinationis tuæ, cùm Præfationem Typographo tribuis modo, modo adi- mis: Clamorem totum in me confers, qui ne particulam qui- 10 dem ullam ejus extuli.* Hoc cui non suboleat? cùm Præfationis seu Epistolæ simul & Clamoris mentionem facis, Clamoris ne ullam quidem particulam conferri in te sinis; Præfationis nul- lam respuis, nullam inficiaris: immò quasi errorem meum videris propemodum ridere, quòd satis constanter non dixe- 15 rim tuam esse. Si insciente te & prorsus ignaro factum hoc dicis, ut nomen tuum subscriberetur, primùm credibile non est quenquam esse ausum mittendæ ad Regem Epistolæ cum dedicato libro excusæ, alienum nomen ipso inconsulto subscri- bere. Complures deinde sunt, qui ex te ipso audierunt, cùm

own mouth: for you solemnly affirm,—and particularly in that place of the thirty-ninth page, where, to gain credit, you are wonderfully earnest in your expostulations—that “you are defending your own property, intending to regard the 5 property of others, if at all, when you should be pillaged of your own.” After this noisy expostulation of yours, it is not to be believed, that you would have subscribed your name to that letter, unless it had been your own. This is what you almost confess in the next page, unveiling of your own action 10 cord your deceit and artful dealing, on the strength of which you so often aver, that you are not the author of the *Cry*. “For who (you ask) would not pity your moon-stricken condition, when one while you ascribe the preface to the printer, another while deny it him: the whole *Cry* you throw upon 15 me, who produced not a single atom of it.” And, who would not entertain the same suspicion, when all in a breath you speak of the preface, or of the letter, or of the *Cry*, yet will not allow even a single particle of the *Cry* to be fathered upon you, though of the preface you reject nothing, you 20 disavow nothing; nay, by your manner, one would almost think that you derided me for a blunderer in not maintaining it to be yours with sufficient steadiness of asservation? If you assert it to be wholly without your knowledge, that your name was subscribed; first, it is incredible that any one should 25 take the liberty to put another man’s name, without consulting him, to a letter which was to be sent to a king, and printed together with a book, which was also dedicated to him. Secondly, there are many persons, who have heard you yourself confess to those who had asked the question, and even de-

tuam esse illam epistolam vel interrogantibus faterere, vel
ultrò ipse prædices. Verùm tua nécne fuerit, non admodum
laboro; túne solus an *cum uno aut altero* eam composueris;
quod & hìc pag. 41. subindicare ludibundus propè videris. Te
5 istius ego non *Epistolæ* duntaxat, sed & libelli infamissimi
solum propè conscient, te ejusdem editorem aut edendi ad-
ministrum, te *Epistolæ* ad *Carolum* aliquammultis exempla-
ribus divulgatæ subscriptorem notissimum, te scriptorem eti-
am confessum, te ergò omnium legum consensu atque sen-
10 tientiâ totius operis authorem ipsum tuo ore convictum atque
constrictum teneo. Hæc quo dicam testimonio tam remotus,
& unde mihi tam liquidò constare potuerint, si quæris, non
famâ, inquam, solâ, sed partim testibus religiosissimis qui
coràm hæc mihi sanctissimè asseverarunt, partim literis vel ad
15 alios vel ad me scriptis. Literarum verba ipsa expromam, scri-
bentium nomina non edam; propterea quòd in rebus alioqui
notissimis necesse non habeo. Hem tibi imprimis ab homine
probo, & cui ad hanc rem pervestigandam haud mediocris
facultas fuit, literas Hagâ Comitis ad me datas.

clare, without solicitation, that the said letter was yours. But whether it be yours or not—whether you wrote the whole of it yourself, or wrote it in conjunction with any other person, which, in your gamesome mood, page 41, you would almost
5 seem to half-insinuate, is a matter of small concern to me. I hold you convicted and tied down by your own confessions, that you are almost the only one privy to the writing, not merely of the letter, but of that most scandalous libel; that you were the editor or manager of the publication; that you are
10 notoriously the person who subscribed many of the copies of the published letter to Charles; that you are even confessedly the writer of it; and that you are, therefore, by the consent and the decision of all laws, the real author of the whole work.

I will explain to you, if you wish to know, how it came to
15 pass, that I, who am so remote from the source of this testimony, should be able to see these things in such a noon-day clearness of evidence. It was not, I assure you, from report alone, but partly, from witnesses of the most religious honour, who, in my own presence, and with an awful solemnity of
20 manner, declared what I have now uttered; and partly, from letters written either to others, or to myself. I will transcribe the very words of the letters; the names of the writers I shall not divulge, because, in matters otherwise well-known, I do not think it necessary. First, here is a letter for you, written to
25 myself, dated Hague, from a person of integrity, and who had no ordinary means of searching this affair to the bottom.

Ex literis Hagâ Comitis.

Exploratissimum mihi est, Morum ipsum Clamoris Regii sanguinis exemplar nonnullis aliis imprimendum obtulisse, antequam Vlaccus illud accepisset; ipsum corrigendis opera-
5 rum erratis præfuisse; ab ipso exemplaria, ut primùm quod-
que absolutum est, compluribus impertita ac dissipata.

Viden' ut hæc dilucida atque distincta sint, ut non dubiis rumoribus collecta, sed datâ operâ ac diligentia hominis iis in locis ac rebus versatissimi, pvestigata & inquisita, certissi-
10 mis indiciis comprobata atque comperta? Atqui testem, in-
quies, unum jus omne rejicit: en itaque ex ore duorum te-
stium, quo testimonio neque sacrum, neque civile jus quic-
quam amplius aut locupletius desiderat, firmatum à me omne
verbum, ut dicitur, & corroboratum habebis. Accipe nunc sis-
15 quæ vir honestissimus idemque intelligentissimus & certò sibi
cognita, & illic testatissima Amsterodamo sic scribit.

Ex literis Amsterodamo.

Certissimum est omnes ferè per hæc loca Morum pro au-
thore illius libri habuisse, qui *Regii sanguinis clamor* inscri-
20 bitur: nam & schedas à prælo exceptas ipse correxit, & aliqua
exempla subscriptum dedicatoriæ nomen Mori præferebant,
cujus & ipse author erat; dixit enim ipse amico cuidam meo,

Extract of a Letter, Hague.

“I have thoroughly ascertained, that More himself offered a copy of the *Cry of the Royal Blood* for the press to other printers, before the work was undertaken by Vlaccus; that he 5 himself superintended the correction of the press: and that the impressions, the moment any of them were got ready, were given out and dispersed to many persons also by himself.”

Do you see how distinct and clear are these facts; that they were not collected from vague rumours, but investigated by 10 the labour and diligence of a man, perfectly acquainted in those parts, and in those matters; and substantiated by proofs of a nature the most unquestionable? But all law, you remark, has rejected a single witness. Here then I shall confirm for you every word as it were from the mouths of two witnesses; and 15 no law, either divine or civil, requires any testimony to be more ample or substantial. Take now what a man of the first honour and understanding writes from Amsterdam, of which he was certainly well-informed, and which was there most strongly attested.

Extract of a Letter, Amsterdam.

“It is most certain, that almost everybody in these parts has considered More to be the author of the book inscribed *The Cry of the Royal Blood*: for he corrected the sheets as they came from the press, and the name of More was found sub-25 scribed to some of the copies of the dedication, of which he was also the author: for he told a friend of mine that he was

se illius Epistolæ authorem fuisse: immò nihil certius est, quàm illam sibi Morum vel attribuisse, vel agnovisse pro sua.

Verùm requiris adhuc tertium: non id quidem cogit lex, attamen indulget. Esto; largissimâ per me lege utere: potest 5 fieri, ut terni opus sint testes: coarctatum tibi à me juris quicquam non dices. Addo jam tertium.

Ex alteris literis Hagâ Comitis.

Dixit mihi Hagæ Comitis vir quidam primarius, habere se Regii sanguinis Clamorem, cum ipsa Mori epistola.

10 Vides quàm largiter tibi admetiar: clara enim hæc sunt, quis neget? tu tamen scito clariora apud me esse, quæ datæ fidei causâ reticeo, quàm quæ nunc palam exhibeo. Quod si adhuc tamen vis cumulum, fortassis accedet. Interea nunc libero ac soluto animo ad reliqua proficiscor; quandoquidem 15 id quod Deum Optimum Maximum precatus sum, adeptum me esse spero, ut nemini videar, viro præsertim bono & intelligenti, incertis rumoribus elatus temerè, accusationem contra te falsam instituisse, nec fictis criminibus innocentem, quod quereris, & immeritum perfudisse, sed tectum atque 20 duplarem veris redarguisse, latentem atque sectantem tene-

the author of that letter; indeed, nothing can be more certain, than that More either gave himself out to be the author, or acknowledged it for his own."

5 But you require yet a third witness; not that the law compels this, as necessary, but admits it by way of indulgence. So be it; you have my permission to use the law in its utmost latitude. It may be, that there is occasion for three witnesses. You shall not say that I have narrowed the meaning of any law, to meet your case. I now add the third.

10

Extract of another Letter, Hague.

"I was told, at the Hague, by a person of consequence, that he had in his possession, *The Cry of the Royal Blood*, together with More's letter."

15 Do you see what large measure I mete to you? These facts are clear; who can deny them? Yet, know, that I have still far clearer than those I now publicly produce, but which for my word's sake, I do not disclose. Nevertheless, if you are desirous of a yet greater accumulation, it may perhaps be forth-coming.

20 Meanwhile, I now proceed to what remains with my mind free and unembarrassed; having, I trust, obtained what I supplicated of Almighty God, namely, that no one, and above all, no virtuous and enlightened person, may think that I, foolishly elate with uncertain rumours, have accused you 25 falsely, or, as you complain, have wrongfully aspersed your innocence with fabricated crimes; but rather, that I have convicted you, with all your lurking and duplicity, of real of-

bras in lucem protraxisse: quod quidem & ex ipsa testimonii claritate perspicuum esse reor, & in ipsis plurimorum hominum non conscientiis modò, sed & sermonibus, ubi hæc gesta sunt, clarius elucere. Quibus si ego testimonium denuntiare 5 possem, obruerere, mihi crede, multitudine tot testium: quos tamen aliquando sponte suâ veritati tam illustri, si opus erit, sua nomina palam daturos esse confido: quòd si hanc probationis vim atque evidentiam, quàm ne Judex quidem severissimus repudiasset, tu falsam tamen esse, id quod incredibile est, contendere audebis, erit fortasse cur de tuo queraris atque deplores infortunio, aut iratum tibi atque infensum agnoscas Deum, qui per aliorum vel errorem vel mendacium assignati tibi hujus libelli illa alia tua dedecora in Ecclesia diutius non ferenda, latiùs patefieri, & personam illam ecclesiasticam, quam circumfers impudentissimè, detrahi tibi voluerit; me cur incuses deinceps aut reprehendas non erit, immo nec unquam fuit, velles modò tua in nos commissa recognoscere; verùm illa mordicùs inficiari nimiùm tibi expedit, & simul pergis lacessere. Noli igitur, quod jam iterum 10 moneo, me inculpare, si rursus quæ nolis nunc vicissim audieris. Sed videamus quid sit. Primùm occurrit mihi, nec 15

fences, and have dragged you forth to the light, when skulking in secret, and enamoured of darkness. This, I conceive is evident, from the very clearness of the testimony, and appears in a still stronger light, not merely in the internal convictions 5 of most men, but in their familiar discourse, where these things happened. Whence, were I at liberty to divulge the testimony, be assured, you would be overwhelmed with the multitude of the witnesses. Still, I am persuaded, that hereafter, they will spontaneously give up their names, if necessary, to a truth so manifest. But, should you have the presumption to contend, that this strength and clearness of proof, which the severest of judges would not have rejected, is, however incredible, not decisive, you will perhaps have reason to deplore your evil destiny, or to acknowledge that God is 10 incensed against you, since it is his will, that, either through the mistake or falsehood of others, in imputing this libel to you, those other misdemeanors of yours, no longer sufferable in the church, should be more publicly exposed, and that you should be disrobed of the priestly character, which you have 15 20 the consummate impudence to bear: and would you would only call to mind offences you have committed against us, you will then have no reason, nor indeed had you ever any, to throw blame and censure upon me. But it too nearly concerns you to deny those offences with the utmost pertinacity; and 25 yet you continue to irritate. I caution you therefore again to throw no blame upon me, if you would not again hear in return things ungrateful to your ears.

But let us see what you have to say. The first thing I meet

opinatò, mea pro Populo Anglicano Defensio Secunda, typis Vlacci malevoli mendozissimè ac malitiosissimè excusa; omissionis nonnunquam verbis integris, non sine structuræ totius atque sententiaz vel depravatione vel interitu. Quod ego omnes 5 volo monitos, qui mea curant legisse, nequid meum ex officina hominis inimici & veteratoris exire integrum aut sincerum existiment. Huic accessio est, Vlacci itidem mala merx, *Alexandri Mori Fides Publica*. Ita ego quos à me longissimè summovisse ac protelasse sum ratus, eos vel invitus sub iisdem 10 pellibus conjunctissimos mihi reperio. Sic est profecto; qui liberrimè riserit hos homines, sibi devinxerit. Cavendum sanè & procul fugiendum erit cui putaverint isti nasum esse aduncum, ne aliquando satis irrigi, irridentis naribus duntaxat uncis ipsi sese tanquam uniones hinc atque inde suspendant. Cognoscite verò nunc adversarium, quis unquam 15 fuit, degenerem, iniquum, odiosum. Nam ut primùm, nescio quo casu per amicum meum, non id agentem ut ab isto gratiam iniret ullam, intellexit me ad Clamorem Regii sanguinis responsum in se edere, æstuare mens hominis conscientia, & 20 omnes in partes versare se cœpit. Inter alia trepidantis atque

with, and quite unexpectedly, is my *Second Defence of the People of England* most corruptly and maliciously printed, at the press of the malevolent Vlaccus; with sometimes whole words left out, to the utter depravation of the passage and 5 murder of the sense. And I would here caution all those, who have any curiosity about reading my writings, not to expect that any thing of mine, in its perfect and genuine state, should issue from the office of a man, who is at once my enemy, and a scoundrel to boot.—Next comes *The public 10 faith of Alexander More*, which is likewise the infamous commodity of Vlaccus. Thus I find, that however much against my will, persons, whom I am supposed to have removed and even flung to the greatest distance from me, to be most familiarly united with me under the same covers. By my 15 faith! it is with these men, that he who is the most liberal of his derision upon them will be sure to bind them to him. Indeed, the man whom they may suspect of having his nose turned downwards in a scoffing curve, must take especial care to fly far from their reach; lest, when they have their fill 20 of derision, they suspend themselves, one on each side like pearl-drops, to his depressed nostrils.

This then is my adversary, base, unjust, and odious, if there were ever any such: for he no sooner understood (I know not by what accident from a friend of mine, who certainly did 25 not intend him a favour) that I had published against him an *Answer to the Cry of the Royal Blood*, than his guilty conscience began to be in commotion, and his mind to cast about in all directions. Among other marks of a cowardly and

degeneris animi indicia, qui libellum modò famosum tam cupidè, tamque improbè in alias edidisset, libellum nunc supplicem ad Legatum Foederatorum Ordinum apud nos commorantem scribit, orans atque obsecrans, uti cum Domino 5 Protectore quam instantissimè de suppressimanda mea Defensione ageret. Cùm responsum tulisset impetrari nequaquam id posse, exire nihilominus in lucem, jamque adnavigare animadversorem in se librum cum spicilegio quodam & collectaneis facinorum suorum, conturbatus, & huc, illuc cursitans, circumspectissimus deinde homo, totus in speculis est; oculos ab litore dimovere vix audet; ubi advenisse librum cognovit, suumque statim indicem sensit, prece nescio an pretio exorat librarium, ut exemplum illius libri ullum ne divenderet, donec ipse responsum suum confecisset; id est, ut 15 commercii fidem violaret, donec iste *fidem publicam* conflasset. Ita bonus ille vir quingenta plus minus exempla rectè & emendatè edita suo arbitratu premit, dum Vlaccus interim jacturam alienam suum ratus compendium, quot sibi videtur mendosa imprimit. Bene agis, Vlacce, ut consuevisti; sed 20 auctarium hoc damni quid sibi vult adjectum? cur appendices

ignoble spirit, the man, who had lately manifested such an unprincipled eagerness to publish a notorious libel against others, now pens a supplicatory note to the agent of the United States in England, praying and beseeching, that he

5 would use his utmost interest with the Lord Protector, for the suppression of my Defence. On his receiving for answer, that this could, at no rate, be obtained, but that the book, which animadverted upon him, with gleanings and collections of his enormities, would at all events make its appear-

10 ance, and was even already on its passage to him; then, in his trepidation, he runs now this way, now that, is every moment on the look-out; lives in the watch-towers; dares scarcely take his eyes from the coast; and having learnt that the book was arrived, and discovered, in the instant, that

15 himself was there distinctly portrayed, he prevails upon the bookseller (whether by entreaty or bribery I am not informed) not to sell a single copy of the said book, till he himself should have prepared an answer to it; in other words, prevails upon him to violate the faith of trade, till such time as he should

20 have fabricated his own *Public Faith*. Accordingly, this good-natured gentleman suppressed, at his own discretion, about fifty copies which had been accurately printed and with the last corrections; while Vlaccus, in the mean time, considering another's loss as his own gain, is employed in striking off as

25 many impressions as suited his convenience, which had been vitiated for the purpose. This is excellently done, Vlaccus, according to your custom; but what means this overplus of injury? Unconscionable men! why have ye superadded your-

vos ipsos adjunxitis mihi, hominum importunissimi? nemóne ut possit me velle, quin vos quoque vel ingratissimum onus unà ferre cogatur? Ergo ego, ut videtur, non cæcus, sed cæcias, quos volebam propellere nebulones, attraxi. Tu verò, 5 adeóne tibi, More, tuóque sive genio sive ingenio diffisus es, ut victurum te, & in manus hominum perventurum desperares, nisi te mihi asseclam quoque irem, malè conciliatum agglutinares, & emporibus etiam nolentibus te obtruderes? verùm expertus jam didici quid sit picem at 10 trectare; & erat hoc, opinor, haud minus Vlacci astutiâ provisum, qui non Typographus solùm, sed arithmeticus, quod jam fateor, vetulus, metuebat ne *Alexandri Mori* neglecta *fides publica* jaceret, séque à soricibus ægrè tueretur, nisi hanc artem Alligationis, verè cauponariam, adhibuisset, & vile ac 15 vitiosum vendibili miscuisset. Age verò, quoniam necesse est cum Defensione pro Populo Anglicano, *Alexandri Mori* fidem publicam coemere, quanquam parva hæc, utcunque nummularum jactura erit, discere ex te avemus, quid sit *Mori fides publica*? utrùm confessionem tuæ fidei publicam nobis 20 exhibes, an quid in symbolum? Hæc enim tua fides publica est, opinor; privata an sit dicant, qui te Spiritum Sanctum non agnoscere accusant. Quid ergo est? tuámne dicamus fidem

selves as appendices to me? Is it, that every one who is desirous of my company should be forced to bear the oppressive and offensive weight of yours also? It seems, then, that instead of being a blind man I am metamorphosed into a rain-
5 wind, and have myself collected those clouds of worthless fellows I was determined to drive before me. But are you so distrustful, More, of yourself, or of your genius and abilities, as to despair of a livelihood, or of finding your way into the hands of men, without being agglutinated, in preposterous connection, as a lacquey to me, wherever I may go, and obtruding yourself also upon the unwilling purchasers? I have learnt, however, from experience, what it is to play with bird-lime; and that used in the present instance was likewise provided, I presume, by the cunning of Vlaccus, who being,
10 15 as I am ready to acknowledge, a practised arithmetician, as well as a printer, was afraid that Alexander More's *Public Faith* might lie neglected, and hardly suffice to save him from the rats, unless he resorted to this truly huckster-like combination, mixing the vicious and the vile with the vendible.
20 However, since the *Public Faith* (small indeed) of Alexander More must be unavoidably bought at whatever waste of expence, at the same time with the *Defence of the People of England*, we should be glad to know of you, what the public faith of More is? Is it a public confession of your faith;
25 or is it any thing symbolical? I am verily of opinion, that this faith of yours is indeed public: whether you have any private, let those determine who accuse you of denying the existence of the holy spirit. But, at last, what is it? Shall we say that

esse publicam, an fidem publicam esse tuam? Tuam fidem
sicut & pudicitiam esse publicam, non est difficile ut cre-
damus. Qui enim alienas uxores & ancillas vis esse publicas,
quidni tua omnia, pudorem etiam ac fidem publicam esse
5 velis? An verò hoc est quod dicas, fidem publicam esse tuam?
at hoc quì potest fieri? Túne fidem publicam pro scorto ab-
duxisse te putas, tua ut simul esset & publica? aut captiosus
hic titulus est, aut sensu vacuus. Si tua fides hæc est, quem-
admodum est publica? si publica est, quemadmodum est
10 tua? Relinquitur ut vel imprudens hoc titulo significasse
videare cùm Alexandri Mori fides publica sit, adeóque non
tua; rursus cùm tua sit, ideóque non publica, hanc quam
affers fidem repugnantem & implicitam, nec publicam esse
nec tuam: Quid ergo? aut dubiam, aut inanem, aut denique
15 nullam. Quòd si contendis hanc fidem omnino esse publi-
cam, quæ tua tanta impudentia est, More, ut cùm fidem ipse
nullam habeas, quam pro te afferas, tot flagitia perpetrare fide
publicâ existimes tibi licere? ut nunquam aliàs dici verius,
quàm de te versiculus iste videatur, quicquid peccat Morus,

your faith is public, or that the public faith is yours? That both your faith and your chastity are alike public, we have no great difficulty in believing: for you, who would have other men's wives and waiting-maids made public—what reason

5 can you have why all your concerns—your shame as well as your faith—should not be made public also? But again; do you mean, that the public faith is yours? Yet, how can this be? Can you imagine that you have laid hold of the public faith, with unceremonious violence, as you would lay hold of
10 a strumpet, that it be thought your own and public at the same time? This is either a captious title, or a title utterly without meaning. If this is *your* faith, how is it the public faith? If the public faith how is it yours? Another explication remains. It should seem that you would signify, how-
15 ever impolitely, by this title, that whereas, it is the public faith of Alexander More, it is therefore not yours: and again, inasmuch as it is yours, it is therefore not the public faith: so that this faith thus discordant and intricate, which you bring along with you, is neither the public faith, nor your own faith.
20 What follows?—that it is equivocal, or insignificant, or even a nullity. Now should you contend, that this faith is wholly public, how egregious, More, must be your effrontery, to suppose, when possessing no faith yourself, you should be suffered to perpetrate so many enormities, under cover of the
25 public faith? Thus, it would appear, that nothing was ever said more truly of you, than what is expressed in the following line.

If Morus sins, the public faith is chastised.

plectitur fides publica. Hæc tibi uni licentia si concedatur, non tu Alexander Morus, sed Alexander ille Phrygius meā quidem sententiā nominaberis. Beatum interim te, cui militet fides publica. Contra quem autem? contra meas nempe 5 *calumnias*. Quas tandem illas? an quòd infamis libelli Clamoris Regii authorem te affirmaverim, nunc etiam justā probatione arguerim? at verbum de isto clamore in tua fide publica nullum. An quòd hortensem te adulterum, domesticum Pontiæ stupratorē enarraverim? at horti percautē tu 10 quidem ac timidē mentionem facis; facta utrobique flagitia aut non omnino, aut obliquē tantū & frigidē negas. Quid ergo fidem publicam sollicitare opus erat iis de rebus, quas audacter ipse negare non potes? nihil sanè, nisi quòd circumforanei pharmacopolæ & vanissimi circulatoris hoc solum tibi 15 defuit, ut elogii ac testimonii, nescio quo pacto adscitis atque correptis, & ostentatā fide publicā te venditares. Tibi igitur si *Scurra* sum, minus commoveor; quandoquidem is, qui ab oraculo sapientissimus, ab tui similibus *Scurra* Atticus est dictus. Cur autem *Scurra* tibi videor, More? an quòd ne- 20 quitias tuas interdum falsè perstrinxerim? næ tu stultior sis, More, & adhuc magis ridendus, si quenquam putas, modò

If this privilege be granted to you alone, you should be called, I think, Alexander the Phrygian, instead of Alexander More. O happy you! who have the public faith to fight your battles for you! But fight with whom? With my "calumnies," 5 forsooth! And what are they? Is it a calumny, that I have affirmed, and just now evinced by a legitimate proof, that you are the author of the infamous libel of the *Cry of the Royal*? How is it then, that there is not a word about this *Cry* in your *Public Faith*? Is it a calumny, that I have told the particulars 10 of your amour in the garden, and of your debauching Pontia, while a guest in the house of your friend? You may well be wary and timid when you speak of the garden. You do not deny point blank your commission of the crime in either case; you only deny it coldly and indirectly. Of what use was it then 15 to trouble the public faith about these things which even you yourself have not the front to deny boldly. Evidently idle; unless, to complete your character of a hawking quack and bragging mountebank, it was only wanting, that you should set yourself to sale with bepraisings and testimonials, by what- 20 ever means obtained, with a display besides of the public faith! I am the less concerned that you should think me a mere jester, forasmuch as he, who was pronounced by the oracle the wisest of mankind, was called, by people of your sort, the Athenian buffoon. Why now, More, should you 25 think me a mere jester? Is it, on the plea that my strictures upon your licentious conduct have been sometimes ill-founded? Don't make yourself a greater fool, and more ridiculous than you are already, by supposing that any one, at

emunctæ naris sit, ad tuos fœtores, nisi sale conspersos, posse appropinquare. Sed vide, quām tibi temperaverim, quām leniter tecum egerim: Cūm enim in ipsa fronte libri nullo negotio potuerim tibi paria retulisse, & affixo tibi cognomento 5 appositissimo atque meritissimo ita scripsisse, *Contra Alexandrum Morum adulterum & cinædum*, cohibui me; partim tui misertus, partim ut legentium oculis atque auribus non-nihil consulerem, ne subito occursu tantæ fæditatis atque offensione averterentur.

10 Sed de his plus satis; ab infantissimo nunc titulo ad librum ipsum veniamus: id quod te, ut video, non delectat; nam rectâ eunti viam obstruis; & ægrotantem Doctorculum nescio quem Crantzium cum lectulo & culcitra, tanquam aggerem aut vallum obdis tibi & transversum extrudis. Qui æger, ut ipse ait, 15 & ni fallor ægerrimus, id est maledicendi cupidissimus, haud scio an ventilatâ lodice vix se in cubitum erexerit, ut hæc sua febriculosa somnia deliraret. Mox quasi testamento jam facto subjicit, *Scripsi propria manu & subsignavi licet æger corpore*. Age jam tu, si vis, animam; nos resignemus; & Lectori 20 imprimis quid legaveris inspiciamus: multam, opinor, salutem; ne unciolam quidem; quid ergo? plorare: *Lege si potes & luge*. Me verò quòd ignotus minimè expectabam, secun-

least of a delicate sense, can come near the stench of your abominations, unless they are besprinkled with the salt of wit. But observe my moderation,—how leniently I have dealt with you! Though, in the very title-page of my book, it was easy 5 for me to have repaid you in your own coin, and, fastening upon you a most apposite and a richly deserved nickname, to have thus worded my title—“In Answer to Alexander More, Adulterer, and Lecher,” I yet restrained myself; partly out of compassion for you, partly, that I may not insult the eyes and 10 ears of my readers, who, on suddenly encountering such pollution, might turn away in disgust.

But of these things more than enough. Let us now proceed from the puerile title to the book itself. This, I see, is by no means agreeable to you: for against him who would go right 15 onward you bar the way; interposing and throwing athwart, as a mound and fence for yourself, one Crantz, some sick doctorling, with his couch and pillow. This gentleman “being sick,” as himself reports,—and, if I mistake not, he is very sick, that is, most eager to vomit slander,—I know not whether he 20 could even sit up in bed long enough to air his bed-linen, that he should utter, in his ravings, these his feverish dreams! Presently, as if he had already made his will, he adds—“I have written and signed with my own hand, though sick of body.” And now, if you please, do you give up the ghost; let us break 25 open the seal, and examine first what legacy you have bequeathed to the reader—the usual greeting surely? Nay, no word of greeting. What then? Lamentation! “Read if you can and weep!” Then you shower upon me, as if your

dum hæredem quincunce toto maledictorum aspergis. *Lege*, inquis, & *luge sæculi vicem, in quo maledicentiae tantum licet*: Luge potius tot insipientes doctorculos, quos nisi maturè caveat hoc sæculum, vereor ne propediem & lugeat & 5 luat. Tu verò tum luxisses, cum inauditâ audaciâ Salmasius homo privatus, extraneus, nullâ injuriâ laccessitus, in universam Anglicanam Rempublicam atque Senatum fœdissimis contumeliis bacchatus est: tum luxisses, cùm probrosus ille 10 anonymus Clamorem Regii sanguinis in nos eructavit, nec acerbissimis modò verborum contumeliis ad rabiem usque furit ac sævit, sed nobiscum sic agi oportere, decere, convenire, rationibus & argumentis, ut ipse putat, Christianis defendere conatur. Cognosce nunc, si potes, tuam ipse iniquitatem: cùm 15 externi, ad quos nostra nihil pertinent, nobis vel acerbissimè maledicunt, & maledicentiam ipsam defendunt, vis omnes legant: cùm ego & pro meo in patriam officio, & Magistratum jussu meos cives ac populares, me denique ipsum probris omnibus læsum defendo, vis omnes lugeant. Tum cavere Lectorem jubes, ne me *credat Historicum*. At neque tu 20 Albertus es Crantzius; & hoc tibi edico caveas, ne ego antequam peroravero te citius Mendacem, quàm tu me *Fabulatorem* coarguas. *Quis & qualis sit iste Miltonus*, inquis,

heir, the bulk of your foul abuse—a favour I had no reason to expect, being unknown to you. “Read (you say) and weep for the taste of the age, which can relish nothing but slander.” Weep rather for the multitude of foolish doctorlings, whom this age, I am afraid, if not soon on its guard, will speedily rue and deplore. Now, you should have wept, when, with unexampled insolence, Salmasius a private person, a foreigner, and unprovoked by injury, bullied the whole commonwealth and senate of England with slanders the most foul. You should have wept, when that anonymous scoundrel belched out *The Cry of the Royal Blood* upon us: nor, content with raging and foaming like a wild beast in all the savagery of contumelious bitterness, he thinks to prove by reasons and arguments, which he imagines to be Christian, that it is right, and proper and becoming, thus to deal with us. Learn here, if you can, the blackness of your own iniquity: while foreigners, who have no concern with our affairs, are reviling us in all the acrimony of malice, and defending these their revilings, you invite all men “to read”: whereas, when I, from a principle of duty to my country, and a positive order from its magistrates, am defending my fellow-citizens and countrymen, and lastly myself, wounded as I have been by every weapon of reproach—you would then have all “lament”! Next, you caution the reader against “thinking me an historian.”

25 And I, in my turn, would give a hint that you are no Albert Crantz; and would have you take care, that I do not, before I conclude, make you out to be a liar, before you convict me of being a “fabricator of fiction.” “Who and what that Milton is

ignoro. Non displicet; neque enim tanti est tuum nosse aut non nosse: Ego verò te statim novi & morbum tuum. *Quis sit, inquis, ignoro; libelli ejus satis docent.* Indocilis ergo Crantzius, qui ignorat; temerarius item atque injurius, qui 5 ignotum illæsus lædis, qui per calumniam ac maledicendi præproperam libidinem ex libro de divortiis, loco non citato, verbis aut non plenè aut perperam adscriptis, Blasphemiae falsò insimulas. Tu antè, quisquis es, Crantzi, in malam pestem abieris, quam dixisse me *Doctrinam Evangelii* & 10 *Domini nostri Jesu Christi de Divortio esse Diabolicam*, usquam inveneris. Quòd si dixi fortasse, quam inde conficiunt vulgares interpres doctrinam, quâ post divortium necessariò factum, omne aliud matrimonium interdicunt, esse Diabolicam, id esse Blasphemiam quo tu pacto evincis? nisi si fortè 15 Theologorum dictatis quibusvis contradicere, nunc primùm Blasphemia est credenda. Quod autem affirmas Doctrinam de Divortiis *ab omnibus patribus, à Theologis veteribus & hodiernis, ab omnibus Academiis & Ecclesiis Britannicis, Hollandicis, Gallicis* eodem modo explicari, scito te vehe-

(say you) I know not." This is a matter of small concern to me; nor is it of much consequence, whether I know or do not know any thing that relates to you: yet, I detected in an instant both you and your disease. "Who he is (say you) I know 5 not; his libels show sufficiently who he is." Crantz must be ignorant, then, from deficiency of the power to learn. Yea, he is also rash and unjust: for though himself uninjured, he would injure one who is a stranger to him; and whom from his calumnious spirit—from his headlong lust of evil-speaking—¹⁰ he falsely charges with blasphemy, from the book on divorce: yet the place is not indicated, and the words are either incompletely or corruptly quoted. But Crantz, whoever you may be, it is far more likely that you should bring yourself to the gallows, than find that I had anywhere affirmed "The 15 Doctrine of the gospel and of our Lord Jesus Christ concerning divorce to be diabolical." Yet should I be found to have asserted that doctrine to be diabolical, which is thence concocted by vulgar commentators, and by authority of which, after a divorce for a just cause, they condemn as unlawful every 20 subsequent matrimonial connection,—by what species of proof do you show this assertion to be blasphemy? Unless, to call in question any dogmas of theologians is now, for the first time, to be thus considered. Be assured, you commit a most egregious blunder, in supposing that the same explication 25 has been given of the doctrine of divorce, "by all the fathers, by divines ancient and modern, and by all the universities and churches of England, of Holland, and of France"; and betray a degree of ignorance disgraceful for you

menter hallucinari: & ignorantiam Doctori tibi & præsertim reprehensori turpem prodere: quam si vacat, in eo libro, qui à me *Tetrachordon* est inscriptus, exues. Poteris ibi, si libet, discere, quam ego tueor sententiam, eam & Patrum aliquot,
5 & summorum postea Theologorum Buceri, Fagii, Martyris, Erasmi fuisse; quorum hic justo tractatu Phimostomum quendam Doctorem, tui comparem, eademque ferè blattarantem refellit. Interea non miror laborare te tantopere de inhibendis divortiis, cùm animadverto etiam domi tuæ haud leve acci-
10 dere divortium solere; nimirum sensùs communis ab loquacitate tua. Quis enim mentis compos aut sententiæ suæ sic loquitur? *In Salmasio vix ipsi inimici aliud requirunt, quād quod fuerit iracundior, & male conjugatus.* Patere te doceri, doctorcule, quod pueruli sciant. Non requirebant illi quod
15 fuit, sed quod non fuit. Ais me *Eunuchum dixisse Salmasium*, quod nunquam dixi: duos tantummodo versus ex Eunuchi Terentiani prologo desumpsi, ut Scenicum plorantis exordium, & lamentabile ridiculum risu, ut par erat, exciperem.
Nihil minus quam *Eunuchum* fuisse affirmas: id meâ nihil
20 refert. Tu tamen, quid hac in parte solus tam audacter prouncties, cave. Adeóne legum nescius ac rudis es, ut ullam rem

who are a doctor, and especially a censor too—an ignorance, of which you may divest yourself, if you would only take the trouble to peruse the book which I have entitled *Tetrachordon*. You may there learn, if you have the will so to do, that

5 the opinion maintained by me is the same as that embraced by some of the fathers, and afterwards by the illustrious divines, Bucer, Fagius, Martyr, and Erasmus; of whom, the last is refuting in a well-reasoned tractate, one Doctor Phimostomus, your compeer, and blundering upon nearly the same

10 trash. No wonder, however, that you are so earnest a stickler for the prohibition of divorces, being accustomed at home to no dissimilar accidents—I mean, divorces of common sense from your eternal prate. For who in his senses ever talks after this manner? “Even the enemies of Salmasius expect nothing further, than that he should be irascible and unhappily married.” It begins to be plain, doctorling, that you are acquainted with nothing further, than what children may know. Those enemies of his did not expect what he was, but what he was not. Again you say, I have “called Salmasius an

15 20 eunuch,” which I never have done. I only selected two verses from the prologue of Terence’s *Eunuch*, as correspondent with the scenic exordium of the mourner, and that I might receive with a laugh what was lamentably ridiculous. You say “he was any thing rather than an eunuch.” That is

25 nothing to me. Take care, however, as you are alone, how you express yourself too confidently on this subject. Are you so totally ignorant of law, as not to know, that you can scarcely prove any thing without two witnesses?

difficilius probare te posse sine duobus testibus arbitreris? Sed minitaris deinde; *siquando prodibit viri summi posthumus liber, Miltonius sentiet mortuos quoque mordere.* Vos ipsi existimare potestis, qui vivum non pertimui, eundem mortuum tuum quam non reformidem.

Eternum latrans exangues terreat umbras.

Si mordacem in me mortuum emiseritis, scitote neque melle neque mulso placatum a me iri. Cognoscetis an & ego *λόγον ἐπι τάφων* commodè possim scribere. *Dii boni*, inquis, *quam 10 niger est Miltonius, si fides Salmasio?* at ipsam inferorum fuliginem si secum trahat, me, Deo bene juvante, denigrare non poterit. Tu Salmasii in me convitia ut late nunc refers! quasi pulmentum ægroto tibi hoc esset: contra illa convitia cum ego me, ut par atque æquum est, defendam, tunc tuum *15 illud triste & querebundum rursus audiemus, Lege & luge;* & illi *Dii boni* tui tunc rursus fortasse implorabuntur. Sed dic, quæso, Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ Doctor, quos tu deos bonos colis? vereor ne Catechumenus hic potius, quam Doctor dicendus sis. Docent sacræ literæ unum esse bonum Deum. *20* Tibi si Dii boni sunt, erit fortassis & bona Dea; cuius tu Sacerdos & Mystagogus Corybantem in me nunc agis. Ego quæ in Morum attuli, quanquam tu *falsissima esse* præfidenter

You then proceed to menace: "Should the posthumous work of the illustrious man ever see the light, Milton will find that the dead also can bite." Now judge ye, whether I who have so little regarded him while alive, am likely to 5 stand in much fear of him when he is dead.

His ceaseless bark may fright the bloodless shades.

If you set at me a dead man who can bite, you may be assured that I shall attempt to pacify him neither with honey, nor with honey-drink. You shall find, that I also, without 10 much difficulty, can write a funeral oration. "Ye good gods! (you exclaim) if we are to believe Salmasius, how black is that Milton!" Nay, by God's help, though he carry about him the sootiness of hell, it is not in his power to blacken me. How you delight yourself in dwelling upon the slanders of Sal- 15 masius against me! It is sweet to you, as caudle to a sick man. When I shall begin to defend myself against these slanders, then, we shall hear again from you, the sad and querulous ditty, "Read and weep"; and those good gods of yours will peradventure be once again implored. But, tell us, I beseech 20 you, you doctor of sacred theology, what are those good gods, who are the objects of your worship? I am afraid, that you will turn out here to be some catechumen, instead of a doctor. Holy writ teaches that there is only one good God. If you have good Gods, it may be that you have also a good God- 25 dess; and that you, her priest and mystagogue, are now acting the Corybant against me. The charges I have brought against More, though you so confidently affirm them "to be most

affirmas, sciunt illi esse vera, qui rebus omnibus interfuerere,
quique nullum Genevæ Crantzium eo tempore cognoverunt.
Hoc sanè miretur quispiam si hæc Mori fides publica est, quo
pacto, quóve nomine tua ista privata fides huc nobis ex gra-
5 batulo in præfationem irrepsit. Iniquitas certè in me tua
fidem de illo quam infercis hìc tuam in dubium vocat, qui me
accusas, quòd *innocentissimo Typographo parcere non potuer-
rim*. Ergo Vlaccus, qui me sibi prorsus ignotum petulantis-
simis convitiis adscripto nomine palam appetivit, tibi *inno-
10 centissimus* est. Audi ergo iterum, Theologe, cui tu sacræ
scientiæ vix initiatus mihi videris, audi quàm te tuósque mores
Theologia sacra & sapientissimus præceptor dedoceat: Qui
absolvit improbum, & qui condemnat justum, abominationi
Jehovæ sunt æquè ambo. Verùm haud scio utrum in me ex
15 ignoto factum modò inimicum iniquior, an in amicum ipsum
ineptior sis Morum: cuius prædicatas virtutes tot vitiis inter-
punctas, & propè alternas introducis, ut non ornatum, sed
maculis tantummodo variatum, non Morum, sed morionem
dimisisse abs tuis laudibus videaris. Pictor sanè eximius
20 primam laudis lineam cum litura ducis; *semper magnas*

false," are nevertheless known to be true by persons who were on the spot when all the transactions happened, and who knew of no such person as Crantz, at that time, at Geneva. If this is the public faith of More, it might well be a subject of wonder to any one, in what manner, or under what name, this your private faith has crept hither to us out of a couch into a preface. That faith of yours, which you foist in here concerning that personage, is certainly rendered very questionable, from your injustice towards me: for you upbraid me with 10 "not being able to spare even the printer, though entirely innocent." What! is Vlaccus then "entirely innocent?" Vlaccus! who, with the most wanton calumnies, to which he affixed his name, commenced an open attack upon me, who am a perfect stranger to him! Now, I beseech you, Mr. 15 Theologian, who seem to me barely initiated in the holy science—I beseech you attend to the lesson which is taught by sacred theology and by the wisest of preceptors, so very different from those which are to be learnt from you and your conduct: he who acquits the guilty, and he who condemns 20 the innocent, are both alike an abomination to Jehovah. But I know not whether your conduct is more unjust towards me, whom of a stranger you have lately made your enemy, or more foolish as it respects your friend More, whose boasted virtues you intersperse, and as it were alternate, with so many 25 vices, that he seems to go from your hands all bespotted, instead of bedecked, by your eulogies, and to appear to view chequered like a scaramouch, rather than described as More. Admirable painter truly! You daub the very first line of your

inimicitias exercuit cum æmulis. Vitium narras, Crantzi, in ministro evangelii quamminimè tolerandum; præsertim cùm *iis inimiciis ipse*, quod fateris, *nimis loquendi libertate*, *locum sæpe præbuerit*. Deinde est arrogans & Gallicè *Altierus*,

5 & Spanhemii judicio & tuo. Hactenus nigro lapillo; nunc vario: *Fælix ingenium, nisi crabrones irritasset*. Æmulos nimirum suos, non ipse aquila, sed ut muscas olim scarabeus ille vespæ filius. *Nullum novit Salmasius nobiliorem genium, si laboris tolerantior fuisse*: Ignavus igitur Morus; & tamen

10 semper genio satis indulxit. Addítque ipse Salmasius *variè læsisse uxorem suam*: Unde protervus in matronas etiam Morus; *præter inconsiderationem quoque tali homine indignam*: Salmasio itaque judice, quid est Morus nisi morus? Hic autem fateor satis causæ fuisse, cur *ægrum* te subscriberes;

15 manifestò enim febricitas. Qui sic tibi dixisse Salmasium ait, *siquid in Pontiâ peccavit Morus, ego sum leno & uxor mea lena*. Festivè tu quidem in hoc dramate personarum numerum auxisti, & uberem ridendi ansam, sicui otium esset, porrexisti. Verùm siquid hujusmodi Salmasius amico tibi &

praise! "He was always at bitter enmity with his rivals." O Crantz! you mention a vice the least of all to be tolerated in a minister of the gospel; especially, when "he," as you confess yourself, "by the unrestrained licence of his own tongue, 5 often furnished the occasion of those enmities." Then he is arrogant, and as the French say, *altier*, both in the opinion of Spanheim and in your own. He has hitherto reckoned with a black pebble; he now reckons with one of divers colours: "He had been of a happy disposition had he refrained from 10 irritating the wasps": that is, his rivals; not as the eagle indeed, but as that wasp-born cockchafer of old irritated the flies. "Among the friends of Salmasius, there was not a nobler genius, had he been more patient of application." So More is an idle fellow; and yet he always indulged his natural propensities in sufficient activity. Salmasius himself adds—"that he 15 injured his (Salmasius's) wife in various ways." And thus More makes free likewise with other men's wives; "not to mention," moreover, "his thoughtlessness, which is unworthy of such a man." Even in the opinion of Salmasius, 20 then, what else is More than a foolish fellow? Now I acknowledge, there was here sufficient reason for your subscribing yourself "sick": for you have clearly enough a delirious fever. You even report, that Salmasius said to you, "If" More "has been guilty of any imprudence in respect of" Pontia, "then I 25 myself am a pimp, and my wife a procuress." To his *dramatis personæ* you yourself make a very amusing accession, and thus furnish a most convenient handle for ridicule to every one who has time to be merry. Now, if Salmasius, in the confi-

privatum, siquid incommodius de se vel de uxore familiariter locutus est, id tu, nisi planè delirares, amicitiam saltem reveritus & arcanum domesticum, non tam stolidè hoc in loco effutisses. Sed redis ad laudes, *acutum judicium Mori;*
5 *adjunge inconsiderationem illam tali homine indignam*, res duas inter se conjunctissimas. *Fælicitatem in concionando;* & infœlicitatem in scortando: par alterum in Mori laudibus appositissimum. Accedit corollarii loco *trium linguarum peritia*: quæ professorem hunc tandem consummat nobis tri-
10 *linguem*; id est, cum supradictis virtutibus paulò plus quām triobolarem. Cum voto denique finem facis ineptiendi; ut *Deus Christianorum* (modò enim reliquisse *Deos bonos tuos* videris) *hanc mentem inspiret Potestatibus*, ut *hanc scriptu-*
riendi licentiam Christianis infamem compescant. Vos itaque
15 *priores compescant*, à quibus hæc omnis licentia primò exorta est: mihi mei defendendi jus ac potestatem adversus contumelias vestras, uti spero, non eripient. Intelliges tum ipse, quām ego libens omni hoc genere contentionum supersedeam. Atque tibi jam, ut puto, satisfactum est: idque eò ampliùs feci,

dence of private friendship, had disclosed to you any thing of this sort; if, in the familiarity of conversation, he had said any thing disadvantageous either of himself or of his wife—would you, unless you had utterly lost your wits, have shown so 5 little reverence of friendship and regard to family secrets, as to blab all this, in the inconsiderate manner you have here done?

But you return to your eulogies—“the penetrating judgment of More”; to which you may add that “thoughtlessness 10 which is unworthy of such a man”—two things which have the closest affinity. “His felicity in preaching”; his infelicity in wenching—another admirably-matched pair of More’s praises. Then follows, as a substitute, for the corollary—“his skill in three languages,” which, at last, puts the finishing 15 stroke to this three-tongued professor: and which amounts, added to the above-mentioned virtues, to somewhat more than a three-half-penny professor. At length, you wind up your trifling with the devout wish, that “the God of Christians” (for, of late, you seem to have forsaken your “good 20 gods”) would inspire the sovereign authorities with a determination to curb this licence of scribbling, so disgraceful to Christians. But it is yourselves who ought first to wear the curb, from whom all this licence originated. The sovereign authorities will not, I trust, wrest from me the right and 25 the power to defend myself from your contumelies. You will know how gladly I should withdraw myself from all contests of this sort; and with this declaration, I think you ought to be satisfied; it is a satisfaction I have the more readily

quòd Doctorem te Sacrosanctæ Theologiæ cum amplissimo phylacterio agnoscerem; Doctoribus autem mirificè delector.

Nunc Vlaccum paucis dignemur: nam & Vlaccus responsat, Typographus meus, & necessarius jam factus. Responsa
5 hominis breviter colligam, ut perspiciatis quām bellè quadrant. Es veterator, inquam, Vlacce. Sum bonus, inquit,*Arithmeticus*. Et tamen queruntur, qui tibi expensum tulerunt, pessimè te numerare. Ego ad probitatis normam te exigo. Hem tibi, inquit, *canonem Logarithmicum!* Sophistica
10 hæc est, Vlacce, non Logistica: perinde quasi idcirco solùm Arithmeticam didicisses, quod in ea Falsi regulam doceri audiveras. Clancularius es, inquam, & obæratus aufugisti. Tu mihi *Sinuum tabulas*, & *Tangentium & Secantium* crepas. At quibus tecum ratio est, expensi tabulis te urgent:
15 Idque ipsum est quòd sinuosum te nimis, & alieni cupidiùs tangentem, & malè secantem queruntur. *Trigonometriam*, inquis, *conversis Sinibus in Logarithmos artificialem absolvi*. At artifia interim tua & versutias Creditores luunt: Non trigonometram, sed tetragonum sine fraude cum illis te esse
20 oportuit; non angulos & obliquitates, sed suum cuique metiri ac reddere. De cætero, ad tuam te confessionem ipsam rejicio.

given, since I knew you to be a doctor of sacred theology, with a most ample phylactery; and I am mightily taken with doctors.

We will now vouchsafe a few words to Vlaccus: for even

5 Vlaccus, who is become my printer and close confederate, is also my answerer. I will make a collection of a few of his responses, that you may see how nicely they square. Vlaccus (say I) you are a scoundrel. But (says he) I am a good "calculator." And yet your creditors complain, that you calculate

10 most execrably. I try you by the rule of honesty. Here (says he) is a rule in logarithms. Vlaccus, this is not logic, but sophistry; and looks as if you had studied arithmetic, only because you had heard you might there learn the rule of false. You conceal your name, (say I) and were obliged to fly for

15 debt. You bore me with your noise about "tables of sines," and "tangents," and "secants." But people press you with tables of debt—a sort of tables which are really of account with you: and this they do for the very reason because they complain, that you are too sinuous, that you are too eagerly

20 tangent, and wickedly secant, of other men's property. "I have performed (you say) artificial trigonometry, by converting sines into logarithms." Meanwhile, your creditors suffer for your artifices and your craft; and with them, it was incumbent upon you to conduct yourself, not as a trigonometrian, but as a fraudless tetragonist; not to have been a

25 measurer only of angles and obliquities, but to have measured out and rendered to every man his own. For the rest, I refer you to your own confession. Both at London, and at Paris,

Londini, Parisiis, iniqui Librarii, iniquum judicium, iniqui
Judices; tu solus integer & castus: at illi contra te unum omnes
cùm audientur, vera esse ea quæ de te dixi, nemo non fatebitur.
In me autem quàm scelestus fueris, facilè evincam. Primùm
5 scripsisti ad Hartlibium, petens, ut mea, siquid haberem,
posses excudere; & simul de mea oculorum calamitate, es-
sémne omnino orbus lumen, sedulò & quasi dolens quæ-
sivisti: mox proditoriè, cùm intelligeres nihil tibi à me excu-
dendum venire, cæcitatem mihi, quam quasi sollicitè modò
10 & dolenter inquirebas, eam statim sceleratè insultans palàm
exprobrasti. Nam Typographus, inquit, sum; *quid ad Typo-*
graphos tam magnæ controversiæ, nisi ut operam suam?
Acutum sanè & typographicum! Non alius quisquam typog-
raphis plus hac in parte quàm ego concesserim. Num ergò
15 tu famosissimo libello tuum subscribere professum nomen
quasi author esses, debuisti? & cuius ex libris lucrari cupiebas,
neque nunc primùm, ut audio, lucratus es, ejus nomen tur-
pissimis contumeliis maculare, cum privilegio scilicet, licere
tibi existimasti? *Bellum*, inquis, *erat*; & simul miratur tua
20 vastitas, quòd, factâ pace, bacchationes in me privatim tuas &
singularem insolentiam impunè tibi esse noluerim. Nescis

the booksellers are dishonest, the judgment and the judges unjust. You only are pure, you only are a man of integrity. But when all these together are heard against you singly, who is there who will not assent to the truth of those things I have

5 affirmed concerning you? Your villainy, however, towards me, is easily made manifest. You first wrote to Hartlib, requesting that you might print any compositions I may happen to have by me; and at the same time, inquired with earnestness, and as it would seem, with sympathy, concerning the

10 calamitous loss of my eyes, and whether I was totally bereft of light. Soon, traitor-like, when you found that you received nothing from me to print, in the instant, with insulting malice, you openly upbraided me with my blindness, about which you had lately inquired with such solicitude and grief.

15 For (says he) I am a printer: "what are these great controversies to printers, but as they furnish them with work?" Acute, undoubtedly, and typographical! In this particular, who would concede more to printers, than I have done? Was it fitting, now, for you to subscribe your professed name to

20 this most notorious libel, as if yourself had been the author? Can you imagine, you were at liberty, under privilege forsooth, to dash your dirty slanders on the name of one, whose books you are so eager to turn to your profit, and by which you have profited, as I am told, not now for the first time?

25 You plead, "It was a time of war"; and, at the same time, your marauding spirit is struck with wonder, that now, when peace is concluded, I should not choose to let escape, unrevenged, your single insolence and clamour against me, a pri-

enim, vappa, quid belli ratio, in causa etiam longissimè di-
versa, ab temulenta tua rabie discrepet. An quis existima-
tionem meam privatus per causam belli famoso libro viola-
verit, ea mihi injuria devoranda est, ut ne possim, cùm visum
5 erit, me justâ & expectatâ defensione vindicare? *Non me
puduit, inquis, quanquam ignominiosè accusatum, alteram
editionem adornare.* At non omnes tibi similes sunt Vlacce,
ut non pudeat fidem, pudorem, omnia lucro postponere;
cujus fæda cupiditas adeò vilem tibi & abjectum animum
10 ingeneravit, ut tuis ipse typis te ipsum graphicè nebulonem
depinxisse non erubescas; eodemque tempore mihi maledi-
cere, & meis ex libris quæstum facere. In quo quid cani
similius fieri abs te potuit? cuius ego allatrantis capiti, cùm os
15 illud vehementer inflxissem, exclamas tu quidem & queri-
taris; mox ut esculentum esse comperisti, reversus blandulè,
rodis simul & ligurris. Tu verò mea aut non omnino attigisse
debuisti, aut non corrupisse; nunc inimicus librum meum
non solùm excudisti, sed ultione vilissimâ deformatum ac
mutilatum & adversariis hinc inde obsecsum exposuisti: quo-
20 rum alterum rapacissimam lucelli cuiusvis aviditatem tuam,

vate individual! For you know not, you dolt, the difference between a war, and any drunken fury of your own, though the grounds of each should be totally distinct. Is any private man, under pretext of existing war, to make an assault upon

5 my reputation in an infamous book; and must I swallow the injury without a struggle to vindicate myself, if I saw occasion, by an honest and manly defence? "I feel no shame (you say) however acrimoniously reproached, that I have got up another edition." But all are not like you, Vlaccus,

10 who are not ashamed of counting faith and a fair repute, yea all other things as nothing, when they come in competition with your profit; they are not like you, whose groveling avarice has engendered in you a disposition so vile and abject, that, with unblushing effrontery, and with your own types,

15 you have described yourself to the life, a scoundrel, and have slandered me, at the very time that from my books you were in quest of gain. What conduct could be more like that of the dog?—At whose head, as he was barking at me, having flung with violence that bone, you also begin to yelp and growl;

20 till, finding the bone to have meat about it, you presently turn to fawning, then fall to gnawing and slavering up its nice pickings. Now, you should either not have meddled with my works at all, or should not have corrupted them: whereas you have not merely printed my book like an enemy as you are,

25 but, with the basest revenge, after mutilating and deforming it, have exposed it surrounded on all sides by its adversaries: of which things, the one shows your singularly rapacious eagerness even for trifling gains; the other, your unexampled

alterum & tuam singularem malitiam & tuarum mercium improbitatem declarat. Hæc tua sunt, Vlacce. Nunc remoto te circumpede Herum tuum aggredi tandem ab latere aperto liberiùs licebit. Qui quamvis non modò intus turpis, & sibi 5 conscius, sed foris jam penè omnibus manifestus atque perspicuus sit, tamen cùm in audacia positam sibi esse spem unicam statuerit, abstero ore, ut in Proverbio sacro scortum illud, & assumptâ non solùm viri sancti oratione atque personâ, sed 10 sapientissimi quoque titulo Ecclesiastes novus cum malâ cruce, & sacrarum literarum Professor profanus incedit. Adeò ut mirentur omnes in quo summa esse tot vitia reperirentur, in eo illa omnia potuisse ab impudentia tam longè superari.

Ego verò eorum quæ de te scripsi, More, cùm *affinxerim* sanè nihil, affirmaverim autem ea quæ & creberimâ passim 15 famâ, & mihi privatim testibus idoneis essent cognita, utrius hoc nostri *ad sempiternum dedecus* futurum sit, non id tuum, quod tamen tibi arrogas, judicium erit, sed, Dei voluntate, hominum integrorum sententiis dirimetur. Tu interim præfationes mihi (quid enim *tui præfatio* sit nondum assequor, 20 vel *vanissimi* vel *mendacissimi*), quanquam uberrima tibi mendaciorum copia est, mitte *comparare*. Testimonialium ut

malice, as well as the dishonesty of your dealings. Thus much for you, Vlaccus.

And now, having dispatched you, the lacquey, I shall at last be the more at liberty to attack your master on his exposed side. Though this man's baseness is not merely inward, that of which himself only is conscious, but is now open and manifest to the world; yet, as he has determined with himself, that his only hope is in daring, having wiped his mouth like the harlot in the divine proverb, and assumed not only the speech and character of a saint, but of an oracle of wisdom too, in quality of the new preacher (*Ecclesiastes*) with evil fortune; he struts abroad, the reprobate professor of sacred learning: so that mankind is quite aghast with wonder, that however enormous or manifold his vices, his impudence should far surpass them all.

But, More, since the facts I have detailed concerning you, are no "inventions" of my own—no, not even in the minutest particular; as I have asserted only what was confirmed by a report of extraordinary prevalence, and what was communicated to me in private, by witnesses of unexceptionable credit; whether this matter shall turn out to your or my "everlasting shame," will be determined, not as you would have it, by your decision, but (God willing) by the decision of honest men. Meanwhile, do you send and get for me the prefaces of the "vainest or most lying of men," though you have already a most exuberant plenty of lies. (By the by, what means *tui prefatio*, the preface of yourself, I do not yet rightly understand.) No; however expert a beggar of testimonials for

sis tibimet callidissimus æruscator, præfationum tamen coactorem te mihi nolo. Nam quod ais, quæ de te protuli *ejusmodi esse, nemo ut sit eorum quibus paulo propius innotuisti, quamvis iniquior esset, quin falsitatis perpetuæ coarguat*, id 5 usque èd veritati planè contrarium est, ut eorum qui te *propius* norunt, multi nuntiis, non nemo literis questus mecum sit huic me argumento facinorum tuorum tam uberi & copioso parùm satisfecisse; tantum abesse, quicquam ut finxerim, ut permultas, præclaras etiam, tuas res gestas silentio præteri- 10 erim: se, si adfuissent, quod & optabant quoque nonnulli, largiore me palmarum tuarum accessione & copiâ facilè fuisse instructuros. Tuum ergo illud *miserere*, quo tu & operarius tuus, par bipedium odiosissimum, *misereri meam vicem* vultis ridiculè videri, vobis vestrísque vicibus moneo reservetis, ego 15 à me procul arceo: miserations improborum cujusmodi sint, didici. Nam quid est, obsecro, quod miserationem hanc vestram inhumanam tandem commoverit? quòd *in te* nempe *hominem immeritum grassatus sim*. At ô gemina impudentia, & consciorum par callosissimum! vósne ut audeatis vos *im- 20 meritos* asseverare, nisi fortè vocis ambiguo colluditis, quorum alter Clamorem illum infamem atque infandum edidit, alter excudit, uterque divulgavit? Discant hinc omnes, quæ

yourself, I do not choose you should be a collector of prefaces for me: for, your assertion, that the facts I have produced against you "are of such a description, that there is no one who knows you a little more nearly, but would prove them, 5 though even inclined to partiality, to be utterly false," is so manifestly the reverse of the truth, that of the persons who really know you "more nearly," many have complained to me by messages, and all by their letters, that I have been very far from doing justice to the fertile and copious subject of your 10 enormities; that so far from having invented any thing, I have passed over in silence very many, and by no means the least illustrious of your exploits; and that, if themselves had been on the spot, which some regret they were not, they could easily have provided me with a much larger number of your 15 trophies. That pity of yours, then, by which you and your workman, a most loathsome pair of bipeds, would make a contemptible show "of pitying my case," you had better reserve for yourselves and your own cases: God defend me from such pity: I have not yet to learn, of what nature are the 20 pityings of scoundrels! For pray, what is it, that has at last called forth this your savage pity? "My assault upon you," forsooth, "an innocent man." But O! twins in impudence! most hardened pair of colleagues! how dare you affirm yourselves to be "innocent," unless you haply sport with the 25 ambiguous nature of the word, (immeritus) one of whom was the editor, the other the printer, and both the dispersers of that infamous and infernal cry? Mankind may hence learn the value of those asseverations of yours, which you are ac-

vos *cum bono Deo* affirmare soleatis, quām sint pro nihilo
 habenda. Nec precationem feliciūs, quām miserationem ad-
 scivisti; ut ad *justam nominis tui defensionem aggredienti*
 veram & *verecundam suggerat tibi Deus orationem, ab omni*
 5 *mendacio & obscenitate prorsus abhorrentem*: Alterum
 enim nunquam es præstiturus, ut mendaciis abstineas; alte-
 rum iniquissimè precaris, ut cùm tua facta obscenissima sint,
 orationem suggerat tibi Deus factis abhorrentem: quod contrà
 precari debuisses, ut suggereret tibi Deus non verecundam,
 10 sed obscenam: sic enim tua facta verbis saltem propriis & non
 mendacibus Deo atque hominibus confessus es; sic non
 hypocritam egisses; quod Deo longè gratius fuisse. Nunc
 non Deus te, sed tua illa Dea audit Cotytto, sive ea Laverna,
 sive utraque est, labra tacitè moventem.

15

Da mihi fallere; da justo sanctoque videri:
Noctem peccatis & stupris objice nubem.

Quæris quā sciām quæ tu tecum? dicam. Vocale quiddam, si
 nescis, omnis, totusque homo est: non lingua, non vox homi-
 nis sola loquitur; vita ipsa, mores, facta, quid quisque velit,
 20 tacente səpiùs linguâ, clamant atque testantur. Tu itaque hæc

customed to pronounce with a “good God!” Nor are you more happy in your prayers, than in your pity, when you pray, that, “in your endeavours to vindicate your name, God would inspire you with language true and modest, utterly

5 abhorrent from falsehood and obscenity”; for, to abstain from falsehood, will never be in your power; and, when your actions themselves are scandalously obscene, to pray to God that he would inspire you with language abhorrent from those actions, is a most blasphemous prayer. Now, you should
10 have prayed, that God would inspire you with obscene, rather than with modest language: for of this description you had confessed your actions to be before God and man, and in words at least appropriate and true. You would thus have avoided playing the hypocrite, and your conduct would have
15 been far less displeasing to God. It is not God who hearkens to you now, but your goddess Cotytto, or that Laverna, or whichever it is, while you move your lips in silent invocation:

Give me to cheat, yet seem a saint to sight,
Veil my amours in clouds, my sins in night!

20 You ask how I should know any thing about your conduct at home? I will tell you. Every man, at least who deserves the name of a man, is, whether you know it or not, a certain vocal somewhat. It is not the tongue, it is not the voice only of a man which speaks; his life, his manners, his actions, more
25 frequently when the tongue is silent, cry aloud and testify all that any one could desire. This last prayer, then, you put

tacitè; illa clarè; *Orationem videlicet ab omni mendacio & obscenitate prorsus abhorrentem, hoc est, inquis, dissimillimam tuæ.* De hoc utroque sigillatim à me tuo ordine respondebitur. A mendaciis exordiris: *nam ut hinc, inquis, ordiar, quid mendacius ipsâ fronte libelli tui? quem, nescis quare, Defensionem secundam pro populo Anglicano vocem; re quidem verâ, inquis, tetterimam contra me Satyram & ventosissimum Panegyricum à te dictum tibi.* Næ tu mendacia jejonus admodum & esuriens, sed inani morsu captas, si toto libro nihil mendacius ipsâ fronte invenire potes: Quam ego & veracem esse, & per omnia libro consentaneam facilè demonstrabo; quid enim appositius, quid accommodatius ad defensionem Populi Anglicani, quâm si ejus vitam & mores turpissimos esse convincam qui probrosissimo libello edito Populum Anglicanum tantâ injuriâ lacessisset? eum te esse confirmo. Quid si digressus aliquoties essem, & in materiâ præsertim tam tritâ & sæpe tristi Lectoris nonnunquam recreare animum aliunde experirer? Tûne adeo pressus & minimè laxus homo es, ut latum unguem ab argumenti cancellis discedere quoquam licere non putas? quæ lex Rhetorum tuorum digressiones istiusmodi reprehendit? Ego si exemplis, quod

up in silence; the former aloud in open day: namely—"that your language might be utterly abhorrent from all falsehood and obscenity," which, you say, is most unlike your own. To each of these particulars I shall give a separate reply, and in 5 your own order.

You begin with lies: "for, (you observe) to make a beginning here, what can be a greater lie than the title-page itself of your libel?" which, you know not wherefore, I call a *Second Defence of the People of England*; "when in reality 10 (you say) it should be entitled by you a most foul satire upon me, and a most windy panegyric by you." Why! you snap at lies, as if voraciously hungry after a long fast; but your bite misses its aim, if you can find nothing in the whole book more lying than the title-page itself; which, however, I shall 15 show without much difficulty to be veracious, and in every respect consonant with the book: for what can be more apposite, what better adapted to the Defence of the People of England, than my exposing of the corrupt life and manners of him, who, by the publication of a scandalous libel, has insulted the English people by an injury of such magnitude? 20 That you are that person I am now about to confirm.

And what if I should sometimes digress, and try especially on a subject so trite and often so melancholy, to refresh, at intervals, the reader's mind from other fountains? Are you a 25 man of a temper so rigid and unyielding, as to think it never allowable to pass even a nail's breadth the boundaries of the argument? What law promulgated by your rhetoricians forbids digressions of this sort? If I should explain, (as I well

possem, Oratorum illustrium explicarem quid hac in parte
liceat & usitatum sit, efficerem ut appareret statim facili nego-
tio, quām tu harum rerum rudis atque ignarus sis. Nec solam
Satyram, quod ais, in te scripsi, sed ut perspicerent omnes,
5 libentiūs me & multo studiosiūs bonos collaudare, quām malos
vituperare, clarissimorum aliquot nominum laudes qui vel
patriam armis & consilio egregiè liberassent, vel mihi saltem
facta eorum defendantि favissent, (cùm id etiam causam co-
honestaret) & passim admiscui, & pleniūs introduxi. Atque
10 adeò ne hoc quidem, quòd Serenissimæ Suecorum Reginæ
grates potiūs, quām laudes persolverim, tu unquam osten-
deris à Defensione Populi Anglicani, cui illa impensè existi-
mata est fuisse, alienum fuisse. Quid si, quod objectas, me
denique laudassem aliquantis per digressus? quis ea tempora,
15 eas persæpe causas incidere non fateatur, ut propriæ laudes
etiam sanctissimis modestissimisque viris indecoræ non sint,
nec unquam fuerint? hunc etiam locum uberrimum exemplor-
um illustrare copiâ, si vellem, equidem me omnibus facilè
probarem, tu obmutesceres. Sed me nusquam laudavi; nec,
20 quod criminaris, Panegyricum à me mihi met dictum usquam

could) by the examples of illustrious orators, what is allowable and what is practised in this particular, the task would be neither long nor hard for me to make it appear, how unexercised, nay, how ignorant you are in these things. Nor is it 5 only a satire (as you call it) on you that I have written; but that all men may perceive, how much more ready and studious I am to praise the good than to blame the bad, I have everywhere intermingled and copiously set forth the praises of some names of the highest renown, who, by their arms and 10 counsels had either wrought the signal deliverance of their country, or at least had shown favour to me when defending their achievements; for this also might serve to dignify the cause. Nor moreover, will you ever be able to show, because I bestowed upon the most serene queen of Sweden not praises 15 indeed, but thanks rather, that this had nothing to do with the Defence of the People of England, which she was reputed to hold in high estimation. And what, lastly, (which you object to me) if, in a brief digression, I should have praised myself? Who is there, who would refuse to acknowledge that 20 such times, and very often such reasons, may exist as would render self-commendation not unbecoming men of the most sanctified purity and modesty—and that it was never considered as unbecoming? Were I disposed to illustrate this fertile topic by an accumulation of examples, it would be an 25 easy matter for me to prove this point to the satisfaction of mankind and to your confusion. But I have nowhere commended myself; nor will you any where find, what you have laid to my charge, that I have pronounced a panegyric on my-

invenies: Singulare quidem in me divini numinis beneficium, quod me ad defendendam libertatis tam fortiter vindicatæ causam præter cæteros evocasset, & agnoscere fateor, & nunquam non agnoscere debere: & præclaram hinc minimèque
5 culpandam, ut ego quidem arbitror, exordiendi materiam sumpsisse. Petitus deinde ab illo Clamore Regio convitiis omnibus atque calumniis, & infimorum numero habitus, non me laudibus, quanquam id nefas non erat, contra adversarios despectores, sed nudâ ac simplici rerum mearum narratione
10 contentus, tuebar: id Populi Anglicani quem defendebam, quanti interesset, uti ego meam existimationem non planè abjicerem nec obtrectandam quibusvis & obculcandam relinquerem, præfatus antequam mei facerem mentionem, sedulò ostendi: offensionem denique sicujus fortè hac in re
15 incurrissem, haud negligenter sum deprecatus. Hæc tu si propter inadvertiam & livorem aut non legere aut meminisse non vis, quid est reliqui nisi ut crepes? nullum enim in fronte libri mendacium, nisi abs te per malitiam atque calumniam conflatum reperietur. Quanto mendacior *Alexandri Mori*
20 *fides publica?* an te omnia in illo libro ex fide publica scripsisse audes dicere? atqui aut hoc tibi necessariò dicendum, aut libri illius fronti nulla fides est. Ita tu dum in titulo tuo putidus,

self. It is a singular favour of the divinity towards me, that I, above others, was chosen out to defend the cause of liberty, which had been maintained with such dauntless valour; and this favour I must affirm I acknowledged; nor can the time

5 ever come when it will cease to be my duty to acknowledge it; and that I took hence, which in my judgment can hardly be imputed to me as a fault, the noble matter of my exordium. And when assailed by that royal cry with every species of insult and calumny, being handled even as one of the lowest

10 of the rabble, I defended myself not with commendations (though that had been no crime) against my contemptuous adversaries, but contented myself with a naked and simple narrative of facts. Of what moment it was to the people of England, in whose defence I had enlisted myself, that I

15 should not utterly neglect my reputation, and leave it to any, whoever they may be, to be disparaged and spurned, I was careful to show in my preface, before I said any thing of myself; and lastly, lest I should happen to give offence to any in this particular, I was at no small pains to obviate the cause.

20 If, by reason of your envy and malice, you choose either not to read or not to remember these things, what remains for you but to raise a clamour? No other lie will be found in the title-page, but what has been forged by your malice and slander. How much blacker a lie is the *Public Faith of Alexander*

25 *More?* Do you presume to say that you wrote every part of your book, as influenced by the public faith? You must of necessity assert this, or there is "no faith in the front" of that book. Thus, what with your affectation in respect of your

in meo malitiosus es, aut fides publica frontem per te, aut tua
frons fidem perdidit. Pergis de mendaciis. *Alterum est,*
inquis, *authorem esse me libri, cui titulus, Clamor sanguinis*
Regii. Quod cum ego verum esse firmissimis testimoniis jam
5 *suprà demonstraverim, téque illius libri certissimum curato-*
rem atque editorem, omnium jure gentium & legibus pro
Authore habendum esse, sequitur ut quæ mei fallendi spe
nixus hoc loco vociferaris, quasi author non esses, tametsi
infirma per se, atque inania sunt, nunc fundamento illo
10 *fallaci subruto, suâ sponte corruant atque subsidant: simûlque*
*ut totum illud mendacium, illa omnis *temeritas, imprudentia,**
immanitas, quâ me per summam impudentiam hinc oneras,
in te ipsum recidat. Exclamantem itaque & frigentem & tuo
laqueo impeditum, te hîc prætero: nugas autem quasdam
15 *tuas sine risu non possum; per quas acutiùs & miserabiliùs*
*exclamare te putas. Nam licet, inquis, ea *crimina quæ in me**
conjicis vera essent, tamen contra jus & fas omne esset, quod
nullius in nos authoritatis, quoddam tribunal excitas, crimi-
**nationes publicè spargis.* An nescis ergo, hominum ineptis-*
20 *sime, idem hoc tribunal esse, eandem sellam atque authori-*
tatem, jus idem criminandi & judicandi, quod ego vestro

own title, and your malice in regard to mine, either the public faith through your fault has lost its front, or your front has lost its faith.

You proceed, with the subject of lies. "It is one lie (you say) that I am the author of the book entitled *The Cry of the Royal Blood.*" What! when I have before proved it to be a truth, by the most valid testimonies, and that you, being beyond dispute the manager and editor of the book, are to be considered, by the rights and the laws of all nations, as the author? On the contrary, it follows hence, that what you have fabricated in this place, in the hope of gulling me, and with so much noise, as if you were really not the author, though in itself weak and ineffectual, now that its deceitful foundation is destroyed, sinks and tumbles in pieces of itself. It follows too, that all that lying, all that "rashness, impudence, outrageousness" which, with unrivalled impudence, you have hence been heaping up upon me, falls back upon your own pate. I leave you here, then, entangled in your own snare, exclaiming, and freezing with the cold.

But I cannot pass by some of your dirge-like triflings, without a little merriment; especially as you would seem in these to lift up your voice to a more piercing and lamentable tone. "For though (you say) the crimes he lays to my charge were real, yet it is contrary to all law, and all equity, for you to erect a tribunal of no authority over us, and scatter your criminations before the world." And know you not, then, you impudent fellow, that this is the same tribunal, the same bench and authority, the same law for criminating and judg-

primùm Salmasio, mox Clamatori Regio defensione justissimā eripui? vestrum ego nunc exemplum atque judicium in vos converto, vestro jure utor; vestrum ipsum tribunal, vestra subsellia, quæ in nos parastis, de vestris erupta manibus in vos 5 justissimè statuo. *Deinde, inquis, tametsi libri author illius essem, non tibi tamen integrum fuisse tot scommata nihil ad causam pertinentia huic propinare sæculo.* Videte, quæso, æquitatem hominis: Sibi & Salmasio licere vult omnia, calumnias, mendacia, contumelias; nobis vera in illos crima 10 retorquere, quasi ad causam scilicet minùs pertinentia, non licebit. Sanè qui res, rationésque rerum recto judicio ponderare solent, non dubito quin mecum sentiant, nihil vehementius ad causam pertinere, quām quali quis vitā atque moribus sit qui eam acerrimè defendat. Ego causam Regiam, 15 qui vehementissimè defenderit, si aut corruptum esse aut facinorosum arguo, haud levi argumento impugnâsse me causam Regiam satis intelligo: Si mendacem, si turpem, si perfidum per omnem vitam criminatorem nostrum esse ostendo, eundem quoque in nos esse eò faciliùs fidem facio. 20 Tu interim cùm duo tibi proposueris; *alterum, ut ostenderes nec esse te libri authorem illius, nec id fuisse mihi persuasum;*

ing, which I first wrested from your Salmasius, and afterwards from the royal crier, in my most equitable defence? I turn against you your own example, your own judgment; I use your own law; and it is most just, that that tribunal, and 5 those benches, which you had erected for us, should be torn from your power, and established for yourselves.—You go on; “Moreover, although I had been the author of that book, it would nevertheless have been ill done in you, to serve up to the view of this age so many scurrilities, which are nothing 10 at all to the purpose.” Mark, I beseech you, the man’s equity! He would have everything yielded to himself and Salmasius —calumnies, lies, contumelies; and it shall not be yielded to us to retort real crimes upon them, as being forsooth nothing at all to the purpose. Now I cannot doubt, that those who are 15 accustomed to weigh things, and the reasons of things in a well-balanced judgment, will think with us, that there is nothing more powerfully to the purpose, than inquiries into the life and manners of him who stands forth the champion in a great cause. If I prove the man who defends the royal 20 cause with such might and main, to be dissolute and wicked, I require not to be told that, in so doing, I have assailed the royal cause with no contemptible argument: if I bring forth to view our accuser, lying, base, perfidious, through life, it will then be no difficult task to make it believed, that he is 25 still the same towards us.

Meanwhile, you proposed to yourself two things; one, to show “that you are not the author of that book, and that Milton did not think you the author”: the other, “that those

alterum, *falsa esse quæ in te conjecta sunt probra*, nihil horum efficis; sed dissolutus ac fluens, modò huc, modò illuc vagando, tum eadem inculcando, ignarus quām in propinquo tibi effusè nunc pabulanti latens à tergo atque intactus hostis 5 instet, dum nescire me putas quid sit libelli authorem esse, aut quid tu feceris, in eadem perstas vel futilitate vel fallacia. *Quid commerui? quid peccavi? quando Populum tuum læsi?* Cavillaris etiam; *quando boves tuos aut equos abegi?* Non tu boves meos abegisti, Cacus pastor ut sis; sed alienas oves ab- 10 duxisti, tuam deseruisti Phryx novus Alexander, vel etiam Cataphryx Morus. At *sciscitari ex amicis*, credo, poteram, quos isthic apud nos habes, nec *paucos nec vulgaris notæ*. Quasi verò ego, qui *divinus*, ut ais, *non sum*, tuos amicos quinam essent, scirem, qui ante hunc Clamorem belluinum 15 abs te editum, ne vagiisse quidem adhuc te aut infantem natum sciebam. Aut tu planè sensu, vel saltem logicâ destitutus es, aut ejus rudimenta non sic dedidicisses, relationes in sensum non incurrere. Itaque & inimicos esse tibi tam multos, eösque tuā non pietate, sed turpitudine quæsitos necdum 20 audieram; neque ut *ludibriis* tam esses *opportunus*, neque ut tu, Veneris nepos, *Junonem* sic iratam tibi haberet: quæ tibi

reproaches which have been cast upon you are false"; neither of which things do you perform; but with forces broken and scattered, you wander about you know not whither, now in this direction, now in that, then retrace your steps; not aware

5 how close up with you in this loose array is your enemy, and with vigour unimpaired, hangs upon your rear to surprise you foraging. Thinking me ignorant either of what it is to be the author of a libel, or of what you have done, you persist, from folly or craft, in the same asseverations. "What have I de-

10 served? What is my offence? When have I injured your people?" You are even captious; "When did I drive off your bullocks or horses?" You have never driven off my bullocks, Cacus of a herdsman as you are; but you have led astray other people's sheep; like another Phrygian Alexander, or as More

15 a descendant of the Phrygian, you have forsaken your own ewe. But I might have been "informed," it seems, "by the friends" whom you have here among us, and those neither "a few nor of mean note." As if I, who, as you say, "am no divine," should know who are your friends—I, who knew

20 not even whether you had ever been born, and had uttered the cry of an infant, till you sent forth this brutal cry. You are either utterly destitute of reason, or at least of logic; or, you would not have so far unlearned its rudiments, as to confuse premise and fact. Now I had not yet heard that you had

25 so many enemies, and they gotten too not by your piety, but by your baseness; nor had I yet heard that you were so "fit a subject for merriment," nor that you, a favorite of Venus, had made Juno so angry with you. Of the deities who

essent infensa numina æquè ignorabam, & qui essent Crantzio
Dii boni. Anni duo sunt, inquis, *ex quo tuum hoc drama*
exornas. Quanquam hoc perridiculum est, quod optasses
5 nunquam editum, id serò editum queri, & sum ego qui elabo-
ratum rectè atque limatum siquid est, id diu accurasse si dicor,
non reprehendendum me magis quām Scriptores quosque
optimòs putem, qui tarditatem scribendi imputatam sibi à
sciolis facilè contempsero, tamen & hoc esse falsissimum ex
procœmio superioris libri intelligitur, ubi cur maturiùs non
10 respondissem causam reddidi, & errare te vehementer scito, si
operis tam ardui fuisse credis vel inanem clamorem refutare,
vel te cuivis obnoxium ludos facere. Nec mihi tot subcisis
horulis *dicta illa Floralia*, quæ vocas, quot tibi furtivis nocti-
bus atque dieculis facta illa Fescennina stetere. Et *periisset*
15 sanè, hîc enim tecum sentio, paradisus ille tuus, & ficus &
morus & sycomorus, quibus nequitiam tuam, quantum potuit
fieri, honestè adumbratam, quoniam sunt qui rem oculis non
visam, factam credi nolint, istius defensionis inanitatem
ridens, vel argutè vel contemptim exposui: periissent, inquam,
20 illi omnes non sanè flosculi, sed arbusculæ, nisi tu in horto

are hostile to you I was equally ignorant, as likewise, of those “good gods” of Crantz.

“You have spent two years (you remark) in getting up this drama of yours.” Though it is supremely ridiculous for 5 you to complain of the late appearance of what you would not for the world should have appeared at all; and though it should be admitted that I have taken a long time in labouring and polishing, if indeed, anything of this sort is visible—am I more deserving of censure than the writers, (whom I deem of 10 the first rank) who have laughed to scorn the sciolists for upbraiding them with slowness in writing? But, that this assertion is utterly unfounded, may be learnt from the proem of my former book, where I have given my reasons for not replying earlier; and be assured, you are guilty of an egregious 15 blunder, if you suppose it so arduous a task for me to silence your idle clamour, or to expose you to the derision of the world. Nor have “those said Floral pastimes,” as you call them, cost me so many spare pieces of hours, as those acted Fescennine games have cost you of furtive nights and pieces 20 of days. And here, I verily think, would have ended together with yourself, this your paradise, with the fig-tree, and the mulberry, and the sycamore, under whose thick foliage your lewdness, as much as it could be, was decently shaded, (for there are some who, unless they see a thing with their own 25 eyes, are backward to believe it) and which I, in scorn of your vain defence, have dexterously uncovered to the contempt of mankind! All those delicate flowers, I say, and shrubs as well, had faded, unless you had committed whoredom in the

mœchatus essem: ex hortensi & suburbana cultione tua, non ex urbanitate meâ amœnitatis ista omnis efflouuit. Quod autem in frontispicio *Satyræ in te meæ* (quæ non magis Satyra est, quâm quæ est Marci Tullii in Vatinium quemvis oratio) 5 *tanquam propylæum operis illustre collocasse* me ait, *quid Morus Græcè significet*, frustrâ tu quidem propylæa somnias; non ita eram decori nescius, ut sublime quicquam aut tragicum in historia tua ponerem: Ego tuguriolum illud tuum in horto, tu Palatium illud vetus, in quo hortus ille erat, for- 10 tasse cogitabas; & in illa olitoris cellula, haud dubiè Palatinus adulter tibi videbaris. Id ipsum autem Græcè significare te dixi quod etsi lingua nulla essem, reipsâ te esse nunc dico. Illud tamen negaverim, quoties te tuo nomine Morum appello, *invidiam me velle*, quod quereris, *ex nomine facere*, & moriam 15 tibi objicere; mihi enim id ferè in mentem non venit: sed Professori Græcæ linguæ Græcum etymon Mori ita per- petuò salire per cerebrum tibi solet, ut nemo salutare te possit, More, quin tu ab eo te stultum appellari morosè admodum suspicêris. Hæc sunt & hujusmodi quæ tu paginis paulo 20 minùs viginti, cùm Authorem te non esse Clamoris Regii probare debuisses, nugatus es: in quibus singulis si otiori tecum diutiùs & morari vellem, ipse Morus essem. Nunc

garden. From your horticulture in the suburbs, not from my jocularity, has all this delightsomeness flowered out.

“In the front of my satire against you (which is about as much a satire, as the oration of Marcus Tullius against one 5 Vatinius) I have placed, (you say) as the superb portico to my fabric, the sentence—What means Morus in Greek?” What are you dreaming now about porticos? I was not so ignorant of decorum, as to place, in a history of you, any thing either sublime or tragic. I was thinking of that little 10 shed of yours in the garden; and you, peradventure, of the ancient palace, within the precincts of which, the garden is contained; and in that secret green-house-cell, no doubt, you considered yourself as whoremonger palatine. I did indeed say that, you signified in Greek what, though there were no 15 language in existence, I now pronounce you to be in fact. But I deny, what you complain of, that, as often as I call you by your name of More, my purpose is to excite ill will against you, and to upbraid you with foolishness, “on account of your name”; it has scarcely ever entered my thoughts. The truth is, 20 that, being professor of Greek, the Greek etymon of Morus is so perpetually dancing to and fro in your brain, that nobody can address you by the name of More, but you peevishly and grievously suspect him of calling you fool. This, and such like, is the trash, with which you stuff little less than twenty pages, 25 the while you ought to have been employed in proving that you are not the author of the *Cry of the Royal*. Were I disposed to idle on each particular, and any longer to play the fool, I should be Morus myself.

tandem seriò videris velle agere. *Non rumores, non sermones, sed literas testes dabis, admonitum me fuisse ne in hominem innoxium incurrerem.* Literas ergo inspiciamus, quas in medium affers *amplissimi viri D. Neuportii Fæderati Belgii*

5 *Legati ad te scriptas; quas tu, ut videtur, literas non ad probationis vim, quam nullam habent, sed ad ostentationem solùm legendas proposuisti. Is, quod singularem viri amplissimi humanitatem declarat, (quid enim is non viri boni, qui tui indignissimi causâ tantopere laboraret?) ad Dominum*

10 *Thurloium Secretarium adit; tuas literas communicat. Cùm nihil se proficere videret, ad me duos viros nobiles, amicos meos, cum literis iisdem tuis allegat. Quid illi? Literas illas Mori recitant, rogant, & Legatum Nieuportium idem rogare aiunt, uti literis tuis, quibus authorem Clamoris Regii negares*

15 *te esse, fidem haberem. Respondi non esse æquum quod postularent; neque tantâ fide Morum, neque id fieri solere, ut contra famam communem & rem alioqui satis compertam negantis de se rei & adversarii solis literis crederetur. Illi, cùm aliud è contra nihil quod dicerent haberent, pugnare desinunt.*

20 *Si hæc non credis, tute percurre Legati literas, quibus ego nunc*

At last, you seem inclined to be serious. "You will give neither rumours, nor common talk, but letters, in proof that I was forewarned not to fall foul of an innocent man." Pray then let us have a sight of the letter you produce, which was

5 written to you by "his excellency D. Nieuport, ambassador of the United Provinces," and which you have brought forward, it appears, not for its weight of evidence, of which it has nothing, but merely out of ostentation. The ambassador—a circumstance which shows the exemplary humanity of that

10 dignified personage (for what would he not do for a good man, when he exerts himself so strenuously for you who are totally unworthy of it?)—The ambassador went and communicated your letter to Mr. Secretary Thurlow. But finding that he made no progress with him, he dispatches two noble

15 friends of mine, with the same letter to me. What do these gentlemen do? After reading to me More's letter, they make a request, affirming at the same time that the ambassador Nieuport joined in the request, that I would give credit to this your letter, in which you denied yourself to be the author

20 of the *Cry of the Royal*. I replied, that what they required was unreasonable; that More was neither worthy of such credit, nor was it agreeable to any usage, to give credit to merely a letter of an adversary under accusation making a denial relating to himself, in contradiction to common report, and to the

25 result of an investigation sufficiently satisfactory. The messengers having nothing to say in answer to this, give up the parley. If you do not believe this account, pray run over the ambassador's letter, which I now make use of as evidence

testibus in te utor. *Optabat eum non invulgare librum:* verùm id mei juris erat & potestatis. *Ne tibi hanc injuriam facerem, ut illud tibi opus imputarem:* At liquere sibi, aut unde sibi liqueret injurium tibi hoc esse quòd imputassem,
5 non scribit. Saltem ut *nihil vellem inserere, quod te tangeret.* Quidni verò te tangeret quod ad te pertinet, nisi id ad te non pertinere demonstrasset? demonstrare autem non potuisse, argumento firmissimo est, quòd cùm Domino Thurloio Secretario idem denuò persuadere vellet, nihil habuit quod mit-
10 teret, præterquam idem illud exemplum literarum tuarum; ex quo & illud facilè perspicuum est, *rationes* illas ad me allatas *ob quas optabat*, ne vellem eum librum evulgare, nihil conjunctum cum Reipublicæ rationibus habuisse. Noli itaque tu literas Legati corrumpere: nihil illic de *hostili spiritu*, nihil
15 de *importuno tempore*; tantùm *dolere* se scribit *noluisse me rogatu suo tantillum moderationis ostendere*: id est, noluisse me suo privatum rogatu tibi adversario publico rem gratam facere; opus excusum & jam penè editum revocare & de in-
tegro retexere. Excusatum me habeat *vir amplissimus*, &
20 præsertim Legatus, si injurias publicas privatis intercessionibus condonare noluerim, nec sanè potuerim; multóque minùs eas injurias Clamoris Regii, quæ neque ad bellum neque ad pacem recèns factam ullo modo spectarent. Bellum illud contra Anglos, non contra Rempublicam fuit: bellum vestrum

against you. "He desired him not to publish the book";—but this was at my own option, and in my own power—"that he might avoid doing you the injury of imputing to you that work." But he does not say, that it was plain to him, or

5 whence could it be plain to him, that the injury would be precisely my imputing the book to you. At least that, "I would insert nothing which could touch you." And why should not that touch you, which relates to you? unless he had shown that, it did not relate to you. That he could not do this, it is a

10 most clear proof, that in a second attempt to prevail with Mr. Secretary Thurlow, he had nothing to send him, but that very same copy of your letter; from which it may further be easily seen, that those "reasons," alleged to me, "for which he desired" I would not publish that book, possessed nothing

15 connected with the reasons of the republic. Don't corrupt now the ambassador's letter. There is nothing there about "a hostile spirit"; nothing about "an unseasonable time." He only writes, "he is grieved that I would not, at his request, show the slightest moderation": that is, that I would not, at

20 his private request, do a favour to you, who are a public enemy—namely, recall, and compose anew a work already printed, and on the eve of being published. That "dignified personage" must excuse me, and the more because he is an ambassador, if I neither would nor could pardon public injuries for private intercessions; and far less those injuries of the *Cry of the Royal*, which had no sort of connection with the war, nor with the peace, which has been recently concluded. That war was against Englishmen, not against the

non contra Anglos, sed contra Rempublicam est. An si quis Regiarum partium per bellum Regium quicquam in nos commisit, id per pacem Batavicam à nobis non erit vindicandum? si quis in Rempublicam nostram contumeliosè quid 5 scripsit, id post pacem cum Batavis factam non erit refellendum? an per alienum bellum plus Regiis in nos, quàm per nostram pacem nobis in Regios licebit? At non nos cum Regiis aut eorum Clamatoribus, sed cum iis Provinciis pacem fecimus, à quibus causa Regia longissimè sejuncta est; eámque 10 pacem in qua de hostibus nostræ Reipublicæ non modo non favendis, sed ne tecto quidem recipiendis nominatim exceptum est. At enim hoc *intempestivum* & ἀπειρόχαλον fuit, quod alienissimo tempore cùm omnia hic eō isthic festis ob pacem ignibus colucerent, tu solus gelidâ perfunderis. Evidem 15 non in eo positam ἀπειροχαλίαν existimabam. Tu lautus homo ista meliùs: doleo non satis perpensa à me officii momenta in te mei. At graviter peccatum est: tum enim *lætis clamoribus nostrum vestrumque cælum consonabat*. Quasi verò te ardellione & incendiario benè multato, non multo lætiùs illi 20 ignes pacifici & sociales relucerent: quasi etiam *vestrum nostrumque cælum faustis clamoribus non multò lætiùs con-*

commonwealth: your war is against the commonwealth, not against Englishmen. What!—if one of the royalist faction has done us an injury under pretence of the royal war, are we not to revenge it because of the Dutch peace? If a man has 5 written anything full of scandal against our commonwealth, is it not to be refuted after peace is made with the Dutch? Shall greater licence to injure us be given the royalists, by a foreign war, than is allowed us to injure them, by our own peace? Besides, we have not made peace with the royalists, 10 nor with their criers, but with those provinces, between whom and the royal cause there is a vast distance. In this peace, too, there is an express provision, not merely that no favour should be shown the enemies of our commonwealth, but that they should not be even received into a house.

15 But “at a juncture so very unseasonable—when every place was illumined with festive fires on account of the peace”—for you to be the only one to pour cold water, “was ill-timed and indecorous in you.” Indeed! I did not think decorum consisted in that; a man of your polish is better versed in these 20 things. I am sorry the importance of my duty towards you was not sufficiently weighed by me. It was a grievous mistake: for, at that time, “the sky resounded, on our and your side the water, with cries of joy.” As if, indeed, those social and peace-kindled fires would not blaze up with a still more cheerful 25 brightness, on the news that such a meddlesome fellow, such an incendiary as you, was soundly chastised! As if, moreover, “your sky and ours” would not far more joyfully resound with auspicious cries, now that the inauspicious, the funereal cry

sonet; cùm infaustus & feralis inimicorum clamor compescitur: quod tu itaque alienissimum tempus, id ego opportu-
nissimum fuisse contendō: nec *obstrepuisse* me, quod aīs,
5 *Pacis articulis*, sed acclamasse & plausisse. Postremò & me
prorsus ignoras, & tibimet intra paucos versiculos manifestò
mendax deprehenderis. *Abs te*, inquis, *quo factum sit animo*
non interpretor: Et statim, quòd *depositis armis, animum*
retineres armatum. Mirum ni ex eo bello quæstum feci, aut
stipendium aliquod navale, qui factam pacem usque eò mo-
10 lestè tulerim. Dicam igitur quod me dicere neque ullum
obsequium, neque necessitas cogit. Falleris tu quidem magnoperè, si quenquam esse Anglorum putas, qui Fœderatis
Provinciis me uno sit amicior, aut voluntate conjunctior; qui
præclariùs de Republica illa sentiat; qui eorum industriam,
15 artes, ingenium, libertatem aut pluris faciat, aut sæpiùs col-
laudet; qui bellum incepsum cum iis minùs voluerit, sus-
ceptum pacatiùs gesserit, compositum seriò magis triumpha-
rit; qui denique obtrectatoribus eorum minùs unquam cre-
diderit. Unde tu nullam in me calumniam mendaciorem aut
20 minùs congruentem affingere potuisti. At *illum rerum car-*
dinem aucupatus esse videor, ut prodeuntibus demum arti-
culis pacis obstreperem. Tu scilicet cardo rerum; in te pacis

of our enemies is compelled to silence! The juncture which you think so unseasonable, I contend, was most opportune; and that, so far from my having "clamoured," as you assert, "against the articles of the peace," I have shouted and clapped

5 in approbation of them. In fine, you totally misunderstand me, and are found manifestly inconsistent with yourself, in the compass even of a few lines. "In what spirit (you say) this was done by you, I do not inquire": and immediately after, you add that, "though you have laid down your arms,

10 your spirit should still be armed." Unless I had earned my livelihood, or received some naval salary, from that war, it is inconceivable, that I should have been so mightily chagrined at the conclusion of the peace! I will declare, therefore what is neither prompted by complaisance, nor compelled by necessity.

15 You are indeed greatly deceived, if you think there is any Englishman more friendly, more closely allied in heart, to the United Provinces, than myself; if you imagine there is any one who thinks more highly of that republic; who prizes more and who oftener applauds their industry, their arts, in-

20 genuity, and liberty; whose will was more abhorrent from beginning a war with them; who prosecuted it, when begun, with less zeal, and when ended, who more sincerely rejoiced; lastly, who at any time gave less credit to those who would disparage them. You could not, therefore, have devised a

25 calumny against me more false, or less appropriate.

"But I appear to have watched for that hinge of affairs, reserving my clamour for the promulgation of the articles of the peace." You, forsooth, the hinge of affairs! The articles

articuli vertuntur; hunc si attingas, actum de pace est. At quem hominem? quo numero? civem credo egregium, Senatorem primarium, ornamentum curiæ: immò ne civem quidem, sed inquilinum, alienigenam, & Scoto-Gallum impurissimum, odiosum omnibus atque offensum, Reipublicæ hostem, qui siquò expulsus, ejectus, & in rem malam amandatus esset, ne tantillum quidem articulis pacis noceretur; immò satisficeret potiùs. Tu itaque desine, si sapis, politicari; & pacis articulos cave dehinc mussites, ne quis te ex pacis articulis Regii Clamoris editorem ad supplicium poscat. Pollicitus sum, inquis, Legato, *nihil indecens exiturum è calamo meo*. Neque fefelli; vel siquid omnino illa in parte commisi, in me solum commisi, dum tuos excutere putores, tua tractare inquinamenta sustinui: &, quòd illic etiam præfatus sum, non tam quid me magis decuisset, quàm quid te dignum esset spectabam. Nec tamen indecentiùs aut acerbiùs in te ego, quàm olim viri gravissimi in improbum quemque ac perditum & concionibus honestissimo quoque civitatis in loco atque conventu habitis, & scriptis palam editis invecti sunt. Verùm ad illud nunc venio quod virum sanctissimum & hujus ætatis longè castissimum offendit Morum; *illoto scilicet sermone*

of the peace turn upon you! If you touch this man, then, farewell to the peace! And pray, who is this personage? Of what rank is he? An eminent citizen, no doubt; a senator of distinction; an ornament of the court. To tell the truth, he is
5 not so much as even a citizen, but a mere lodger, a foreigner, a foul lecher, half Scot, half Frenchman, the scandal and the scorn of the world, the enemy of the republic; and if he was driven out and transported as a criminal, the articles of the peace would be in no wise violated; nay, they would
10 rather be fulfilled. If you are wise, therefore, you will cease to meddle with politics; and I would have you beware henceforward, how you mutter over the articles of the peace, lest, on the strength of those articles, you get demanded for punishment as the editor of the *Cry of the Royal*.

15 You say I promised the ambassador, "that nothing indecorous should fall from my pen";—And I have not deceived him; or, if I have at all offended in this respect, I have offended against myself only, while employed in shaking off those loathsome odours of yours, and in handling your pollutions:
20 and, as I said before in my preface, I considered less what might most become me, than what was best suited to you. Yet, after all, have I inveighed with greater indecorum and bitterness against you, than those grave orators of old, in their harangues made in the place and the assembly of highest
25 honour in the city, as likewise in their published writings, were accustomed to use against all scoundrels and miscreants?

But I come now to that which has given offence to the sanctified More—that prodigy of the age for chastity. "I employ,

utor, *verbis nudis & prætextatis*. Propodium hominis & pro-
 stibulum! Téne illota verba reprehendere qui facta turpissima
 patrare non erubisti? Jam non pœniteret profectò, siquid in
 hoc genere liberiùs paulo dixissem; etiamsi aliud inde nihil
 5 assequutus essem, nisi ut elicerem ex te dissimulationem hanc
 improbissimam, téque personatum omnibus vel hinc palam
 educerem hypocritarum omnium deterrium. Quod autem
 tu mihi dictum libro toto ostenderis, quod verbum illotius,
 quàm hoc ipsum Morus? sed non in verbo neque in re, sed in
 10 te vitium omne atque obscœnitas tota est. Tu Fauno quovis
 aut nudo Satyro turpior, bona verba uti nuda essent tuis mori-
 bus effecisti. Tuam nulla umbra, ne ficus ipsa quidem, velare
 turpitudinem potuit. Qui te dicit, tuáque flagitia, eum necesse
 est obscœna dicere. Itaque si in tuum opprobrium vel nuda
 15 verba exeruissem, facilè me etiam gravissimorum Authorum
 exemplo defendissem. Qui ita semper existimarunt, verba
 nuda atque exerta cum indignatione prolata, non obscœnitatem,
 sed gravissimæ reprehensionis vehementiam signifi-
 care. Quis unquam Pisoni Annalium scriptori, qui propter
 20 virtutem & pudicos mores Frugi dictus est, vitio vertit, quòd
 in Annalibus questus est *adolescentes peni deditos esse*? Quis
 unquam Sallustium Scriptorem gravissimum reprehendit,
 quòd etiam in Historia dixit;

Ventre, manu, pene, aleâ, bonâ patriâ dilacerari?

25 Quid Herodotum, Senecam, Suetonium, Plutarchum, Au-
 thores omnium gravissimos adducam? quos tu si negas verba

(it seems) language of unwashed foulness, words naked and indelicate." O shameful, prostituted man! And do you censure words as foul, who without a blush can be guilty of deeds of unequalled foulness? Indeed, it would not repent me now, 5 had I been a little more liberal of my words of this kind, had it been only to elicit this scoundrelly dissimulation, and hence openly to expose you (masked as you are to the eyes of the world) as the worst of hypocrites! But what expression, what word, will you point out to me, in any part of the book, more 10 foul, than the word *Morus* itself? Yet, it is neither in the word nor in the thing, but in yourself exists all vice and all obscenity. Lewder than any fawn or naked satyr, your manners have converted words of chonest meaning into words of naked ribaldry. No shade could veil your filthiness, not even that 15 notable fig-tree. Whoever speaks of you, and of your debaucheries, cannot choose but speak obscenely. And if I have uttered naked words in your reproach, I should be at no loss to defend myself by the practice of gravest authors; who have always been of opinion, that words naked and plain, indig- 20 nantly uttered, have a meaning far different from obscenity—that they express the utmost vehemence of reproof. Whoever imputed it as a crime to *Piso*, the writer of the annals, who for his virtue and modest manners obtained the surname of *Frugi*, that, in those annals, he complained—"Adolescentes 25 peni deditos esse?" Whoever censured *Sallust*, a very serious writer, for saying even in his history—"Ventre, manu, pene, alea, bona patria dilacerari": not to mention *Herodotus*, *Seneca*, *Suetonius*, *Plutarch*, the gravest of authors? and with

etiam plusquam prætextata, résque satis turpes rebus gravioribus aliquoties immiscuisse, satis declaras te iis in Authoribus versatum non esse. Hoc si omni tempore & loco indecens est, quoties tu Erasmo doctissimo qui Roterodami stat æreus, 5 quoties Thomæ Moro nostro, cuius tu nomen tuo commaculas, quoties denique ipsis Ecclesiæ patribus antiquis, Alexandrino Clementi, Arnobio, Lactantio, Eusebio, dum obscoena veterum religionum mysteria vel denudant, vel derident, indecentiæ & obscenitatis dicam scribere debebis? Verùm tu 10 fortassè, ut sunt ferè hypocritæ, verbis tetrici, rebus obsceni, ne ipsum quidem Mosen istâ noxâ immunem abs te dimiseris; cùm alibi sæpiùs, tum etiam ubi Phineæ hasta, quâ parte mulierem transfixerit, siqua fides Hebræis, apertè narrat. Ne ipsum quidem Iiobum pudentissimum ac patientissimum, 15 dum meretricem sibi uxorem nudato & prisco sermone imprecatur, si ipse alienæ uxori insidiatus unquam fuisse. Non te Salomonis Euphemismi censorem, non Prophetarum scripta tuam turpiculi immò nonnunquam planè obsceni censuram effugerint, quoties Masorethis & Rabinis, pro eo 20 quod disertè scriptum est, suum libet Keri adscribere. Ad me quod attinet, fateor malle me cum sacris scriptoribus εὐθυρῆ-

whom you sufficiently proclaim your non-acquaintance, if you deny that they intermix, on divers occasions, words more than indelicate indeed, and subjects abundantly gross, with matters of greater seriousness. If this be indecorous at all

5 times and places, how often will you have to charge with a writ of indecency, and obscenity, Erasmus, that miracle of learning, whose brazen statue stands at Rotterdam; how often our own Thomas More, whose name you dishonour by pronouncing it at the same time with your own; lastly, how

10 often the ancient fathers of the church, Clemens Alexandrinus, Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, when they uncover and cast derision upon the obscene mysteries of the old religions! But perhaps, as hypocrites are usually austere in words, though in things unclean, you will not suffer even Moses himself

15 to escape unimpeached of this crime: for, as is usual with him in various other places, so if we are to believe the Hebrews, it is especially remarkable, in the passage where he speaks without any disguise, of the very part where the spear of Phinehas transfixes the woman. You will not spare even

20 Job, most modest and patient of men, while, in naked and homely phrase, he imprecates on himself the curse of a harlot-wife, if he had ever lain in wait for the wife of another. Not the writings of Solomon the elegant, nor even of the prophets could escape your proscription of every petty indelicacy,

25 indeed sometimes even of broad obscenity, whenever the Masorets and Rabins think proper to write their marginal *Keri*, to note the eloquent plainness of the text. As for me, I should choose rather to be plain-spoken with the sacred

μονα, quām cum futilibus Rabinis εὐσχήμονα esse. Tūque frustra Marcum Tullium inclamas; qui si *in aureo* illo quem citas, *de Officiis libro*, illud jocandi genus elegans, urbanum, ingeniōsum, facetum arbitratur, quo genere non modò Plautus & 5 Atticorum antiqua comœdia, sed etiam Philosophorum Socraticorum libri referti sunt, id quod illic legisse poteras, non ille mihi quidem nimis angustos, non nimis severos decori statuisse fines videtur, ut cuiquam difficile sit intra eos fines sese continere; nedum ut ego me non continuerim. Noli 10 itaque tu mihi homo inquinatissimus, de honesto & decoro ineptire; non est tuum, mihi crede; immò tu sic habeto, nihil minùs decere, nihil ab ratione ipsa decori magis abhorrere, quām te talem, qualis es, lautum sermonem usurpare, aut illotum reprehendere. Sed videris nunc velle rem omnem in 15 pauca redigere: *Non sum, inquis, author Clamoris.* Non suades. *Res patet, dilucet, cāmque pluribus argumentis affirmare tam sit ineptum, quām in clarissimum solem mortale lumen inferre.* Desine ampullas; dic tandem aliquid. *Ipse ego quantum possum reclamo.* Nempe nunc denuò; mina- 20 citèr modò & regiè; nunc miserè. *Amici non tacent.* Ex ore tuo. *Ecclesiastæ admonent.* Fide tuâ. *Legati confirmant.* Ex literis tuis. Quid hoc omne aliud est, nisi illa initio tua singularis negatio, *Non sum author?* Verùm tu, antequam

writers, than delicate with the futile Rabins. In vain will you call Marcus Tullius to your aid; for if he in that "golden book of offices," which you quote, deems of this kind of raillery as elegant, urbane, ingenious, witty, and of which not only

5 Plautus and the ancient Attic comedy, but even the books of the Socratic philosophers, are full, as you might there have seen—it is not he who will be found to confine decorum within limits so narrow and strict, that it should be difficult for any one to restrain himself, and especially for me to restrain myself within those limits. Let us hear no more then, most polluted man, of your trifling about the honorable and the becoming; believe me, this becomes not you; nay, be assured, there is nothing less becoming, nothing more foreign to the very nature of decorum, than for such a one as you to 10 usurp the language of purity, or to censure that which is foul.

15 But you now seem disposed to reduce the whole matter to a few words. "I am not (you affirm) the author of the *Cry*." I am not persuaded. "The thing is plain, manifest, and to corroborate it by a multitude of arguments, would be equally absurd as to add mortal light to the sun's matchless splendour." Away with your high-flown trumpery: let us at least have something to the purpose. "As much as in me lies, I disclaim it." That is, now once more. Heretofore, you spoke in a menacing tone, and like a king; now, like a pitiful fellow as 20 you are. "Friends are not silent": According to your account. "Clergymen admonish": On your credit. "Ambassadors confirm": By your letters. And what does all this amount to, but your own single denial in the beginning—"I am not the

ad hunc locum pervenisti, jamdiu intelligis miser quo loco
res tuæ sint; quos in laqueos te indueris; quibus à me vinculis
obses tenearis: nunc quantum voles clama, Te non authorem
Clamoris esse; cùm omnium gentium leges atque jura, Præ-
5 conem te mihi pro Clamatore, Procuratorem pro Authore
tradiderint. Quid nunc authore fiat, aut ubi terrarum degat,
nihil moror: vixerit sanè in Gallia, & simul in Hollandia
jucundum fuerit videre, quod narrat ipse, *quibus ludibriis*,
quibus periculis Legati nostri eo tempore conflictarentur: sit
10 vel Satanicæ minister Synagogæ, non labore; hoc saltem
unum benè fecit, quod te tam diligentem sibi támque fidelem
diaconum, non Evangelii, sed infamissimi libelli ministrum
reliquit. Age nunc triumphos de me istos, quos ego flebiles
tibi efficiam: profer in medium, si potes, mea illa *mendacia*,
15 *meam illam imprudentiam, temeritatem, audaciam, perti-
naciam & impudentiam*, meum illud ingens piaculum quòd
te Regii Clamoris affirmaverim authorem. Clama quantum
potes è longinquo ad Populum Anglicanum quem illo anteà
nefario Clamore edito tam indignè læsisti: nam accedere non
20 audes. Vociferare, inquam, si satis in tuto es; *Quantum te*,
Popule Anglicane, *tua de Miltono* *fecellit opinol* Hæc enim

author." But long before you had come thus far, you miserable fellow, you were well aware to what a pass your own cause had come; in what a snare you had got entangled; with what bonds I held you secure. Cry now as much as you will,

5 that you are not the author of the *Cry*: for, being the publisher and the manager, the laws and the usages of all nations give you to me both as the crier and the author. What now becomes of the author, or what part of the globe he inhabits, I stop not to inquire. If his places of abode, indeed, are at once

10 France and Holland, "it would be amusing (to use his own words) to see, with what scoffs, with what perils our ambassadors" at the time had to contend. Whether he is even the minister of a Satanic synagogue, is a point I labour not; this one thing at least he has done well; he has left you, who are so

15 diligent and faithful a deacon to him, the minister not of the gospel, but of a most infamous libel.

Now for your triumph over me! which I shall take care shall prove no joyous ceremony to you! Bring forward, if you can, to the view of the world, those "lies of mine, that imprudence, temerity, insolence, pertinacity, and impudence," the injurious terms upon which I am forced to expiate my assertion, that you are the author of the *Cry of the Royal*. Cry from afar, since to come near you dare not, and with your loudest voice to the people of England, whom, by your former publication of that nefarious cry, you have so basely injured: lift up your voice, I say, if you are only safe enough, and cry— "People of England! how greatly have you been deceived in your opinion of Milton!" For, at the very moment you are

ipsa dum clamas, dum plaudis tibi, & tanquam elapso gratalaris, nescis me lustra tua, & sylvas anonymas indagasse, nescis in plagis te meis esse: sentit Populus Anglicanus me non poenitendum vel defensorem juris sui, vel venatorem 5 ferarum suarum. En ego te reluctantem obtorto collo, traductum per ora omnium, pestem populi, in Ecclesia verrem, caudâ non minus, quâm obliquo dente maleficum, in conspectum omnium protraho. Téque belluam Populo Anglicano inspectandam, non Ædilitatis, sed Defensionis meæ gratia 10 tissimum munusedo. Tu interea, nequid desit ad triumphum, quem de me, ut putas, deluso atque decepto agis, quòd authorem Clamoris te dixerim, adhibes, ut solet, jocos. Et frontem, inquis, immeritò perficere diceris, tota enim jam-dudum frons tibi periit. Noli nunc de me queri; noli sarcasmos, & sannas & scommata, simulatâ rursus gravitate, 15 reprehendere: memineris ut hi ludi à teipso instaurati & introducti nunc sint; ut reprehensos modò & damnatos ipse nunc revoces. Facetus esse cupis; non succurrit in præsentia: suggeram itaque ego tibi jocos quosdam tuos; & quod triumphum maximè deceat, militares: quíque admoneant te tem-

giving utterance to these cries, while you congratulate yourself and exult as if you had escaped, you know not that I have tracked you to your haunts, your unnamed forests; you know not you are already in my toils: the people of England perceive that I neither repent me of having come forward as the champion of their rights, nor of having fought with their wild beasts. Lo, I drag you out to the public gaze, struggling and twisting your neck back, and reveal you before all persons, the pest of the people, in the church a boar no less mischievous with his tail than with his tusk oblique. I show you to the people of England, for a beast, as the most agreeable spectacle I could exhibit to them, not as their ædile, but as their defender. Meanwhile, that nothing may be wanting to your triumph over me, thus deluded and mistaken in pronouncing you the author of the *Cry*, you play off, as the custom is, your mockeries. "It is to little purpose (you say) you are said to rub up your countenance, when that countenance has been so long forsaken of all shame." Now no longer complain of me; let me hear you no more, with ill-dissembled gravity, exclaiming against "sarcasms, scoffs, and buffooneries." Remember that it is yourself who renew, and now introduce these games, that you may yourself recall your late censure and condemnation of them. You have a mind to be humorous. This will not stand you in stead on the present occasion. I will therefore bring to your recollection certain humours of yours of the martial kind, thence excellently adapted to a triumph; and which may put you in mind of a certain time, when your own countenance met with a "rubbing"

poris cujusdam, in quo frons tua tam validè *perficta* est, ut
tibi tum multo maluisses totam frontem periisse. Meministi
fortasse illius diei, immo verò diei, credo, & horæ & loci me-
ministi, cùm tu Pontiam in domo Salmasii ultimùm, ut op-
5 nor, convenisti: tu illam, ut copulæ renuntiares; illa te, ut
nuptiis diem dices. Quæ ubi è contrario pactum stupro con-
jugium dissolvere in animo tibi esse vidit, tum verò tua in-
nuba, non enim dicam Tisiphone, impatiens tantæ injuriæ in
faciem tibi atque oculos, non sectis unguibus, furens invo-
10 lavit. Tu qui teste Crantzio (præstat enim non sine tua
fide publica tantum certamen exordiri) qui teste, inquam,
Crantzio Gallicè *Altier*, Latinè feroculus esses, teste Deodato,
terribiles ungues ad tui tutelam haberet, pro virili tua parte
ad fœmineum hoc genus pugnæ te comparas. Stat arbitra cer-
15 taminis Juno Salmasia. Ipse Salmasius in conclavi proximo
decumbens pedibus æger, ut prælium commissum audiit, risu
penè moritur. At heu nefas! imbellis noster Alexander, &
Amazoni congressus impar, succumbit. Illa inferiorem nacta,
in frontem & supercilia nasumque hominis tum primùm su-

of so little gentleness, that, at the moment, you would have far preferred that your whole face should have forsaken you.

Peradventure, you have not forgotten that day (and I verily believe you have not either the day, or the hour, or the 5 place) when you met Pontia in the house of Salmasius, I think the last time. The object of this meeting, on your part, was, to get rid of your shackles; on hers, to get you to appoint a day for the nuptials. But perceiving it, on the contrary, to be your intention to frustrate a connection which had been 10 agreed upon in softer moments, then your unespoused damsel (for I will not call her Tisiphone) unable to bear an injury of such magnitude, flew like a mad creature, with nails all unpared, at your face and eyes. According to the testimony of Crantz (for it is better not to begin the narrative of so grand 15 an encounter, without your public faith) according to the testimony of Crantz, I say, you, on your part, were (to speak in French) *altier*, (in Latin) rather fierce; and having (as Diodati reports) terrific nails for your defence you prepare yourself, as becomes your manhood, for this feminine sort 20 of combat. Juno Salmasia stands by as the arbitress of the contest; and Salmasius himself, who, with the gout in his feet, was reposing himself in an adjoining apartment, no sooner hears that the battle is begun, than he is ready to die with laughing. But, as ill luck would have it, our unmartial Alex- 25 ander, unequal to a contest with the Amazon, gives way. She, feeling his inferiority, now sins for the first time with the upper parts of the man—his forehead, eyebrows, nose. With the utmost dispatch, she adorns the whole countenance of the

pernè peccat: miris capreolis & Phrygiano opere totum jacen-
tis vultum percurrit: nunquam tibi More lineamenta Pontiæ
minùs placuere. Ipse plenâ jam utrâque margine genarum,
scriptus & in mento necdum finitus, ægrè tandem surgis: sed
5 ne pœniteat te, homo ad unguem factus; non jam Professor,
sed tamen Doctor Pontificius: jure enim poteras tanquam in
picta tabula scripsisse, *Pontia fecit*. Quid autem? Doctor?
immò codex jam factus, in quo ultrix Pontia sua adversaria
exaravit stilo novo. Sensisti puto Vlacci tabulas Tangentium
10 & Secantium ad radium Cifrarum nescio quot lugubrium in
pelle tua excudi. Tu tum More *facie non integrâ* domum te
proripuisti; fronte quidem exorrectâ, quam vix contrahere
jam poteras; superciliosus tamen & caperatus, quippe dere-
pentè multò literatior; & quantum potes, abdis te quoque,
15 reconditæ ut posses dici homo literaturæ. Echo noster Eccle-
siastes! ubi es? quid lates? expectant te jam nunc, qui *tibi*
aures è superiore loco dicenti accommodare solebant. Sed
tibi misero nunc Pontia è superiore loco dixit, tuísque auribus
ungues accommodavit. Redde nunc tuum vultum nobis,
20 Ecclesiastes, antiquum sanè & rugis venerandum; cur apocry-

prostrate foe with branching tendrils, and with Phrygian work, wonderful to behold! Never did the features of Pontia, More, give you less delight! At length, with both cheeks completely engraved, the chin only not quite finished, you slowly and 5 difficultly raise yourself up. Don't be ashamed, you who are a man made to a nail's breadth. Though you are not now the professor, you are yet the doctor Pontificius: for, you may very properly have inscribed, as at the foot of an engraving, "Pontia fecit." What! Doctor, did I say? In truth, he is now made 10 into a book, on which the vengeful Pontia has written her notes, and in a new style too. If I am not mistaken, you have felt imprinted on your skin, Vlaccus's tables of tangents and secants, at a radius of I know not how many rueful figures. Now, "with face not perfectly whole," you slunk away home; 15 your front smooth and unwrinkled indeed, as if from good humour, but in fact, from the difficulty you felt of gathering it up into frowns. Your look, however, is not without that severity and knitting of the brows, incident to those who have suddenly gained a considerable accession to their lettered 20 store. You do all you can to hide yourself; so that you may well be called a man of hidden learning. Ho! ho! is our preacher at home? Where are you? Why do you shut yourself up? Those who have been accustomed "to give ear to you when lecturing from a higher place," are now waiting for 25 you. But, O wretch that you are; Pontia, it seems, has been lecturing you from a higher place, and has given her nails to your ears. Pray now, preacher, let us once more behold your countenance, ancient and truly venerable for its furrows. Why

phus vis esse? cùm ipsâ Pontiâ Pontifice canonicus jam
maximè sis & rubricatus. Quin etiam hinc Critici, inde anti-
quarii ad fores te in clamant; tui videndi desiderio ardent.
Emanavit, nescio quo pacto, novas quasdam inscriptiones
5 Gruterianas apud te esse; alii Arabicas, alii Copticas aiunt;
qui veriùs, Ponticas ex terra Taurica. Omnes uno ore conser-
tiunt pulcherrimas esse oportere, utpote in ære frontis tuæ tam
graphicè, Pontiano præsertim onyche, insculptas. Nemini
respondet Morus, omnibus negatur, spernit omnium desi-
10 deria; & delibutus unguentis domi, literas dediscere Ponti-
anas mavult. Hæc habui, More, quoniam te mecum jocandi
cupidum animadverti, quo ego tuum de me triumphum
velut militari carmine exornatum volebam. Quidni enim
pugnas tuas tum maximè commemorarem? quanquam palma
15 quidem erat Pontiæ; illa tibi lemniscos tantummodo reliquit.
Etenim quod tuum non est, tibi non attribuo; tametsi tu id
toto libro, quasi absurdum meum insectaris, oblitus te pro-
curatione & chirographo tuo fidejussorem mihi factum; ob-
litus, quod æs alienum tu esse dicis, id nunc legitimè non
20 minus tuum esse, quæcum cujum tu esse dicis. Tu itaque cœci-
tatem cyclopeam mihi exprobrâsti; & quod impudentius est,

will you be thus apocryphal? especially as you are now become eminently canonical and rubricated under the pontificate of Pontia herself. Now again the critics and antiquarians, from all quarters, flock to your door with the most eager curiosity

5 to see you. It had been noised about, I know not how, that you had in your possession certain new inscriptions of Gruter. Some said they were Arabic, others Coptic; but the most probable report was, that they were Pontic, from the country of Tauris. All, however, agree that they must be most beautiful, 10 as they were engraven on your face of brass, and with a Pontian nail too. Nobody receives any answer from More; he is denied to every one; the anxious feelings of all he regards with contempt; and all besmeared with unguents, chooses rather to remain at home and unlearn his Pontian letters.

15 I have told this story, More, because I found you were desirous of joking with me, and that I might grace your triumph over me by a sort of martial song. And why should I not commemorate your battles, though it be true, that the palm was Pontia's, and that she left you nothing but the ribbons? For 20 it is not my intention to give you what is not your own, though this is the folly with which you charge me throughout your book; forgetting that by your superintendence, and by your own hand-writing, you have rendered yourself to me the responsible person; forgetting that what you assert to be another man's, is now, in law, no less your own than the person's whose property you affirm it to be. You upbraid me however with the blindness of the cyclops; and to mend your impudence, you repeat the insult, at the very moment that you

dum id negas fecisse, iterum facis: Qui nulli tum fuerant
oculi, nunc *exemptiles* & *Lamiarum* sunt. *Narcissus* nunc
sum; quia te depingente nolui Cyclops esse; quia tu effigiem
mei dissimillimam, *prefixam poematibus* vidisti. Ego verò
5 si impulsu & ambitione Librarii, me imperito Scalptori, prop-
terea quòd in urbe alias eo belli tempore non erat, infabré
scalpendum permisi, id me neglexisse potiùs eam rem argue-
bat, cujus tu mihi nimium cultum objicis. Tu itidem is es, qui
clarissimum virum, Consilii Statùs tum Præsidem, contu-
10 meliis incessisti; de quo iratior, quàm de meipso, quæsivi ex
te quid aliud esset calumniari perpetuò bonos, quàm esse dia-
bolum. Hinc tu pulchram nactus hypocritandi occasionem ex
Crantziana videlicet calumnia, quasi ego *Christi doctrinam*
de *Divortio quemadmodum à Theologis explicari solet*, dia-
15 bolicam dixissem, qui ater modò eras & maledicentissimus,
nunc albus repentè factus, & mitis & patiens *agis gratias*,
quòd te *communi cum cœlesti doctrina convitio honestem*.
—— Hyæna! aut siqua alia est bellua, tam tetrâ fraude noxia
atque infamis! túne cœlestem doctrinam tot tuorum facino-
20 rum asylum atque perfugium speras fore? Sed perge quòd
tendis: si enim Theologorum quasvis explicationes pro cœ-

deny you have given it. The eyes which before were no eyes, are now removable and like those of a witch. Now, I am a Narcissus; because I did not choose, by your limning, to be made a cyclops; and because you have seen a picture of me 5 totally without likeness, “prefixed to my poems!” Now, my having consented, at the instance and from the importunity of the bookseller, to employ an unskilful engraver, because at that period of the war there was no other to be found in the city, argues not that I was over-solicitous, as you charge me, 10 but that I was indifferent about the matter. In like manner, you assailed with your abuse the illustrious man, who was at that time president of the council of state; on whose account more incensed than on my own, I asked you, what conduct could be more like that of a fiend, than such perpetual slanders 15 of virtuous men. But, detecting here a promising opportunity for playing the hypocrite, namely, in the Crantzian calumny—that I affirmed “the doctrine of Christ concerning divorce, as usually explained by divines, to be diabolical,”—you are, all of a sudden, changed from a black and 20 foul-mouthed slanderer into a character of unspotted whiteness, mildly and patiently giving thanks, that “I honour you with the same abuse as I bestow upon the doctrine of heaven.” —Hyæna! or if there be any other brute equally destructive, and equally infamous for the blackness of its guile, can you 25 hope that the doctrine of heaven will prove an asylum, a place of refuge, to the multitude of your crimes? But go on to the point to which you are steering; for if you adopt any glosses of divines for the doctrine of heaven, you miss your mark

lesti doctrina amplecteris, toto cœlo, ut te dignum est, erras. Quin & Apostoli gloriosum illud cum bestiis pugnandi martyrium tibimet tribuis nequissime; qui nuper non homo cum bestia, sed ipse bestia cum homine, id est cum fœmina, de fide 5 connubiali abs te rupta pugnam tam in honestam pugnâsti. Reversus deinde ad mores pristinos, solitâmque jactantiam, dicendo me provocas. *Neque verò, inquis, mihi tantum derogo, quanquam nihil arrogo, ut te commodiùs aut faciliùs quam me putem posse dicere.* Concedo equidem, si tibi istum 10 in modum furari licet: hæc enim ipsa verba, quibus copiam tuam venditas, ex oratione Marci Tullii pro Roscio Amerino apertissimè furatus es. Atque hinc puto est, quòd Franco-furtanas nundinas librorum tuorum Catalogo tam copioso nobis obtrudas cùm editorum tum edendorum: ex quibus 15 aliqui sunt quos videre gestiam; & imprimis illum *de gratia & libero arbitrio*, ad amicam præsertim illam si scriptus est, cuius tu nunc gratiam, rejectâ pro arbitrio Pontiâ, accommodato forsitan argumento ambis: tum illum *de Scriptura sacra*, quorum Scriptores multa humanitùs & imprudenter scripsisse 20 ferunt te affirmare: illum deinde *pro Calvino*, quem tu veluti Prophetam extracto monumento Pharisæus exornas, vitâ & moribus jugulas: nam quæ *prodibunt* opera tua, quæ *premis*

as you would, by a whole heaven. You have even the wickedness to represent yourself as fighting with beasts—that glorious martyrdom of the apostle—you, who lately fought so shameless a fight, not of a human being with a beast, but 5 of a human being, that is of a woman, with you, being yourself the beast, and because of your violation of your plighted faith!

Returning now to your old way, your wonted boasting, you challenge me in the following terms: “Indeed, though I 10 would not be arrogant, I shall not do myself the injustice to suppose, that it is in your power to speak with more ease and propriety than I.” Granted, if it be allowable for you to filch in this manner: for these very words, in which you vaunt your copiousness; you evidently stole from Cicero’s oration for 15 Roscius Amerinus. And hence I suppose it is, that you are able to obtrude upon us a whole Frankfort fair of your books, with an ample catalogue of those already published, as likewise of those intended for publication. Among these there are some which I am very curious to see; and first of all, your book 20 “on Grace and Free Will,” especially if it was written for the female friend, whose grace, by accommodating your argument to her, you now haply court, since you have rejected Pontia: next, your book “on the Holy Scripture,” the writers of which, it is said, you affirm to have written many things 25 imprudently and as ordinary men: then, the oration “for Calvin,” whom, Pharisee-like, you honour as a prophet by erecting a monument to him, while you stab him with your life and manners: for, those works of yours which you design

et retractas, et ad umbilicum spectantia moliris, ea meritó suspicantur omnes esse turpissima. Illam de piis fraudibus dissertationem sanè expecto; nam de impiis abs te factis fraudibus abundè audivimus: enimverò Commentarius ille tuus,
5 *quinam sit in 5tum Evangelium futurus demiror; nam illa quatuor priora jamdudum factis abnegâsti: unde & Theore-mata illa practica mirè desidero, nam tu in practicis egregius homo sine controversia es; id quod de te tot fabulæ non fabulæ testantur. Ad illa autem loca novi fæderis, et axiomata quibus*
10 *ex veteri novum fædus illustratur, Pontiæ quoque notas vel-lem simul ederes. Et postremò isthuc memineris, te alterum volumen operum tuorum, quod Genevæ in Bibliotheca pu-blica etiamnum extat, totum omisisse: uti etiam inscriptiones illas, cum frontispicio mirabili, quas quamvis opus Pontia-num,*
15 *in tua tamen membrana tuas esse, adstipulante etiam Justiniano, rectè dixerim: nam Noctes tuas, nescio an Atticas cum Pontiâ, sive dialogum morillum, alii spurium, alii dun-taxat embryonem, qui subtiliùs non inter libros, sed inter libe-ros tuos numerandum existimant. Sed properabas, credo, ad*

“shall see the light,” those which “you lay by for the present, and retouch, as also those which you have now in hand, and are on the eve of being finished”—all these are justly suspected of being most scandalous productions. I am in anxious

5 expectation too “of the Dissertation on Pious Frauds”; for we have heard enough of the impious frauds which have been practised by you; and I am quite at a loss to imagine what “that commentary of yours” can be on the fifth “gospel,” as, by your actions, you have long since discarded the four first:

10 hence I long much to see “those practical theorems,” since, beyond controversy, you are a mighty man for practicals, as so many stories, not fictions, testify of you. In addition, however, to those “places of the New Covenant, and the axioms by which the New Covenant is illustrated by the Old,” I

15 could wish you to publish likewise, at the same time, the notes of Pontia. And lastly, you should not forget in this place, that you have omitted one whole volume of your works, which is extant at this very time in the public library of Geneva: as likewise those inscriptions, together with the marvellous

20 frontispiece, which, though the work of Pontia, is yet on your parchment, I am right, Justinian being my voucher, in considering as yours. As to your nights with Pontia I know not whether they were Attic nights, or simply a moreling dialogue; some think the work spurious, others merely an

25 embryo; but persons of shrewder judgment are inclined to reckon it not of the number of your books, but of your children.

But you were hastening, I think, to another part of your

alteram instituti operis partem, calumnias meas. Nam mendacia, id nempe unicum, quod te authorem Clamoris dixerim, partem tui operis longè maximam tandem aliquando confecisse te significas. Cùm autem leve hoc meritò cuiquam videri possit, etiamsi falsâ aliquâ persuasione imbutus attribuissem tibi librum istum, alioqui nec improbatum tibi, nec tuâ existimatione indignum, cur unam tantummodo noxam tam verbosè tam iracundè summa cum invidia rei per se levissimæ sic exaggeres atque exagites, perinde quasi in se omnes impietates & crimina complecteretur, nisi jam antea docuissem, id magis mirandum possit cuiquam videri. Sed ea nimirum arx erat unica, in qua spem omnem collocaveras; si persuasisses plerisque te authorem Clamoris non esse, méque mentitum, in altera parte quam de calumniis vocas, de quibus quod pro te dicas nihil prorsus habes, sperabas te facili defensione usurum contra me scilicet mendacem jam antea compertum, téque omnes vitæ maculas apud longinquos & ignotos hâc arte gratis eluiturum. Verùm ego cum præter spem opinionémque tuam te authorem Clamoris tergiversantem licet & reclamantem

proposed task—to my calumnies: for you have before given us to understand, that you have at last done with the subject of lies—by far the greatest part of your work—of which nevertheless, the only one was, that I pronounced you the 5 author of the *Cry*. Now, as my imputing of this book to you, though even with some wrong bias upon my mind, may be justly regarded by any one as a matter of trifling moment, since, in other respects, you neither disapproved the book, nor was it unworthy of your reputation,—why, with such a host 10 of words, such fury of passion, such indignant scorn of a thing in itself most insignificant, you should thus exaggerate, thus emblazon one only offence, as if that alone comprehended all impiety and all crime—this, if not already explained by me, would be more to be wondered at. But the truth is that this 15 15 was your only fortress, in which you had placed all your hope. If you had succeeded in persuading the majority of mankind, that you were not the author of the *Cry*, and that I was a liar, you had the hope, that, in the other part, which you entitle “Of Calumnies,” and on which topic you have absolutely 20 nothing to say for yourself—you had the hope, I say, that your defence against me, previously convicted of lying, would be an easy matter; and that you, as it respected people at a distance and those to whom you were unknown, would by this artifice come off scot-free, and wash out every stain of your 25 past life. But contrary to what you hoped and to what you believed, as I, in spite of your subterfuges, and of your denials, have fairly proved you to be the author of the *Cry*, I do not doubt that I shall obtain entire credit with impartial judges

legitimè arguerim, non dubito quin ad flagitia quoque tua, & quas tu calumnias dici mavis, accuratiùs prout res feret exequendas apud omnes rerum æquos æstimatores fidem integrum attulero. Nunc quàm frigidè, quàm invitè quàm planè 5 sontis in morem vafri ac vetuli has abs te dictas calumnias tractes, quámque infœliciter amoliri abs te coneris, reliquum est ut ostendam. Primùm cunctabundus, & incerto pede à prioribus castris in hæc altera cum multis impedimentis ægrè & ne vix quidem transis: quippe à mendacio non ad alterum men- 10 dacium, id enim non audes dicere, sed ad *calumnias* duntaxat & *rumusculos*. Itaque ad mendacium illud toties jactatum, modò dimissum atque præteritum perpetuò recurris, cum præsens arguere, siquod esset, deberes: & adversarii quod miserum est, quàm tui securior, in illo errore, quemadmodum cre- 15 di vis meo, quàm in tua nunc apud te recta conscientia multò plus repositum tibi spei atque præsidii declaras. Atqui non meo, siquod fuit, mendacio, sed tuâ te veritate, siqua fuit, munire debuisti. At enim *authoritate propriâ meras calumnias intento, quas nullo arguento probo, nullo teste confirmo*. Vis 20 igitur dicam apertiùs rem ipsam? nam te, ut video, præ ista

of things, as to your debaucheries also; and which you in more cautious phrase, according as the thing may bear, could wish should be called calumnies.

It now remains for me to show, how coldly, how much
5 against the grain, how evidently like an old and crafty knave, you handle these calumnies as you call them, and how vainly you struggle to throw them off. In the first place, with hesitating, doubtful foot, vexed and hampered with divers impediments, you make a shift to pass from the place where you
10 had before pitched your tent to this other station: in other words, you pass from one lie not to another lie—for that you dare not assert—but to—“calumnies” only and “idle gossip.” This is the reason why you are perpetually recurring to this said lie so often bandied about, and which is only
15 just done with and dismissed: whereas, it was your business to disprove it, if any such existed, while you had it in hand. But O woe is me! you declare that you feel more secure, far more confident of hope and of protection from this mistake of your adversary, which you would have it believed is mine, than
20 from that conscious uprightness which is now present with you. Yet, it behoves you to look for protection not from my falsehood, if any there has been, but from your own veracity, if any is to be found. But, it seems, “I assail you, on my own authority, with bare-faced calumnies, which I substantiate by
25 no proofs, confirm by no testimony.” Would you have me then assert roundly the plain matter of fact? for I perceive from your delicate tenderness of countenance, which instead of being rubbed up, has been only engraved, that you are

mollicie frontis non perfictæ, sed inscriptæ modò pudet dicere; qui ne stuprum quidem aut adulterium toto responso nominare homo pudentissimus & flos castitatis ausus es, ne *vanissimam fabulam* scilicet & obscoenam, id est tua facta *re-5 texeres*. Dicam ergo, & quia non abnus, rerum ordinem sequar.

Est Claudia Pelletta quædam, pellicem posthac nominemus licet, nescio an tuam solum; quæ, cum ancilla in eadem domo honestissimi viri Genevensis esset, in qua tu hospes eras turpis-
10 simus, cum calone & rhedario communis tibi fuit. Eâ mulier-
culâ, postmodum nuptâ, quod stupri tecum habuerat com-
mercium adulterio continuavit. Cedo *testes*, inquis, & *argu-15 mента*. Nugator! quid tu testes ex me ubi non sunt, quæris,
quos ubi erant, fugisti? Genevam revertere, ubi horum crimi-
num jamdiu reus factus es. Dic velle te modò abolendæ calum-
niæ causâ judicium his de rebus legitimum fieri; invenies qui
tecum libentissimè his de criminibus experiri lege velint; qui
vadari, qui sponsonem facere non recusent. Nec testes de-
erunt. Aderit imprimis Hortulanus ille qui te vidit, cùm in

ashamed to speak out. O! paragon of modesty, flower of chastity! you have not had the face even to mention the word fornication, or adultery, in your whole reply: and why? that you may not "revive in our memories that most idle" and 5 obscene "tale"; namely your own actions. Now I mean to tell this tale, and as you have no objection, will follow the order of things.

There is one Claudia Pelletta, the mistress of a married man, as hereafter we shall be permitted to call her; whether 10 you were the only married man concerned, is a point I cannot determine. This lady was a servant in the house of a gentleman of Geneva, a man of unblemished character, at the time you, who are notorious for your shameless manners, were a guest there; and at this time she was common between you, 15 the footman, and the coachman. This unfortunate woman, when afterwards married, continued, by an adulterous connection, the illicit commerce she had with you prior to marriage. I leave out of the question (you say) both "witnesses and arguments." Trifler! why require witnesses of me, where 20 they are not, when you avoided them where they appeared? Return to Geneva, where you have been found guilty of these crimes long ago. Only say that you are desirous of a legal decision on these matters in order to quash the slander, and you shall not want persons who will be eager enough to try 25 with you, by law, this case of your crimes; who will not refuse to give bail, who will not refuse even a wager at law. But you shall not complain of the want of witnesses. And first shall come forward the gardener, who saw you enter alone with

illud tuguriolum cum fæmina solus intrares; vidit, cùm illa Claudia tua clauderet fores; vidit postea egressum te, amplexantem palam cum muliere impudica, & usque eò petulantem, ut illum veterem hortorum custodem obscoenum, non ex fico, 5 ut olim, sed ex moro factum conspexisse se existimaret. Ade-
runt & alii, quos viri gravissimi, qui tuum nomen detulerunt, testes in promptu habent. Cujus tu testimonii vim veritus cùm dimanâsse rem illam sentires quam in occulto patrasse te arbitrabaris, ut infamis ille reus Siciliensis, non jam quid re-
sponderes, sed quemadmodum non responderes, cogitare coepi-
sti: & paulò ante ferox, judiciique cupidus, (nam de aliis quo-
que multis rebus & antea & tum etiam deferebaris) demissus
repentè & consternatus abeundi licentiam (id quod plerique
maximè volebant, ne in rem tam fædam de Pastore suo in-
15 quirere cogerentur) quasi jamjam abiturus petisti. Per hanc
tu rationem liberatus judicii metu, cùm alibi non haberes quò
te reciperes, omni munere cùm Ecclesiæ tūm Scholæ, omnique
stipendio privatus, octo circiter vel decem menses in eadem
urbe fœdis factis notatus detrectatâ causæ dictione vixisti:
20 quo nullum majus argumentum contra te esse potuit. Nunc
posteaquam oblatum tibi certamen defugisti, tuisque com-

the woman into that little lodge—saw when your Claudia shut the door—saw you afterwards go out with your arm round the waist of the immodest woman, and so exceedingly amorous, that he thought he had before his eyes that old, 5 obscene keeper of the gardens, made not, as heretofore, of the fig-tree, but of the mulberry. Other witnesses there are, whom the grave personages who impeached you have ready at hand; of the weight of whose testimony you were so much in dread, that you no sooner discovered that the affair you imagined 10 you had transacted in secret had got wind, than, like that infamous Sicilian scoundrel, you began to bethink yourself not now of what you should answer, but how you should contrive not to answer at all. A little before, full of lofty confidence, you were eager to come to a trial (and both before, and 15 at the time we are speaking of, there were complaints against you of different descriptions); then all of a sudden, dismayed and crest-fallen, you ask permission to remove, and as it would seem, were at that moment ready to set off: and this was the anxious wish of the majority of your congregation, 20 that they might avoid an inquiry into such scandalous behaviour of their pastor. Set free, by this considerate conduct of your flock, from your apprehension of coming to a trial, having no other place to which to betake yourself, stript of every office both in the church and in the college, deprived of every 25 salary, and having shifted the pleading of your cause, you lived noted for your dirty actions, some eight or ten months in the same city. What could be stronger evidence against you? Now, after eluding the trial which was offered you, and choos-

modis carere omnibus, quām judicium de illa re pati maluisti,
posteaquam tuo ipsius judicio temet ipse damnāsti, à me ho-
mīne longinquo testes & argumenta ridiculè sanè quærīs. Quin-
immò, ut dixi, Genevam revertere; & quando vadimonium
5 illud tam malè obiisti, I sodes ad supplicium, quod te illic
manet adulterio debitum; si pristina illius urbis religiosissimæ
disciplina nondum refixit. Ad illa verò sponsalitia stupra tua
quod attinet cum Pontia, quæ te ubique decantatum & dīgito
monstratum insignem hominem illis in Provinciis reddidere,
10 multo minus est cur à me *testes* & *argumenta* postules. Fa-
mam ipsam communem, constantem, & illa centum vel potiùs
mille ora, si vis, in judicium voca: hæc totidem sunt testes
quibus si in foro sæpe creditum est, cur ego de adversario pub-
lico non crederem? cur ego solus quæ in ore omnibus & ser-
15 mone sunt, adversarius tacerem? sed nec testes hic mihi, nec
justo numero nec literæ desunt; in quibus literis & libidines
tuæ & illa perjuria quorum ope elapsus ex judicio es, cum
horrore ac detestatione maxima narrantur. Sunt & muti
testes qui etiam sine voce testantur; illa nocturna itinera quæ
20 toties Hagacomitis Leidam cucurristi; illi nocturni & furtivi
congressus cum Pontia; cum qua tu muliere per causam, ut

ing rather to be quit of all your advantages, than to suffer the matter to be brought to a decision; after being even condemned by your own decision; it is truly ridiculous to require witnesses and arguments of me, a person at a distance. Re-
5 turn, I say again, to Geneva: and if the discipline of that eminently religious city has not yet cooled, go I beseech you, base defaulter, to the chastisement which there awaits your adulterous crime. As to those amours with Pontia, obtained by promise of marriage, and which have rendered you in those
10 provinces the song and jest of all men—the notable personage at whom they point the finger—there is far less reason why you should make a demand on me for “witnesses and arguments.” Summon to the tribunal, if you please, com-
mon Fame herself, with her hundred mouths, or rather
15 with her thousand mouths, which have uniformly told the same tale. These are so many witnesses, to whom, if credit has been often publicly given, why should not I also give credit, when testifying of a public enemy? Why should I alone, who am your adversary, hold my peace in respect of
20 reports which are in everybody’s mouth, and are become the topics of general conversation? But I have no want of witnesses here, and in requisite number too; nor am I wanting in letters, which with the utmost horror and detestation give an account of your lusts, and of those perjuries, by the help of
25 which you escaped from judgment. There are, besides, mute witnesses, who without a tongue can bear testimony; those nocturnal jaunts from the Hague to Leyden; those nocturnal and furtive nights with Pontia, whom you deserted, as the

aiunt, impudicitiæ divertium fecisti. Si tu eam parùm pudicè versatam interdiu cum aliis credidisti, cur alii te continentiorem noctu cum eadem consueuisse crederent? an expectas dum servulum tuum in te producam, nequitiarum tuarum 5 diu conscious, donec, nondum planè amissio pudore, aufugere abs te in bonam frugem conspectæ ipsis oculis libidines tuæ pudefactum coegerunt? Opus utique non erit servum illum ad quæstionem poscere: Ipse detestatus tanta in Ecclesiastico homine flagitia, latè prædicat. Tu interim ut lectorum, si non 10 aures, at saltem oculos invitare possis, oratiunculam nescio quam infercis hîc putidissimam, Historicorum more, lunulis adnotatam, quasi acutissimam nimirum & lectu dignissimam: non orationem, sed chorum quendam Battologorum intro- ductum abs te aliquis putet; amicorum scilicet tuorum hor- 15 tantium ut *te ipsum reverearis*; ut *ungues tuos*, quos tibi faten- tur *non deesse*, ad necessaria magis tempora, Pontianam credo alteram dimicationem, velis potiùs reservare: mecum ne velis *in arenam descendere*. Sed perdunt suam operam amici ver- 20 bosissimi, sua monita præclara, tot curta adagia, triviorum symbola, oleum nempe tuum Battologiæ professor: illis post-

story goes, on account of her inconstancy. If you had reason to believe that she conducted herself with so little modesty towards others in the day time, how can you expect that people should believe you were accustomed to be more continent with her during the night? Are you waiting until I shall produce as evidence against you your own valet, who was privy to your debaucheries, who beheld with his own eyes your lewdness, till the modest youth was at length obliged to fly for shame to where he might become a new man! There will be no occasion, however, to put the question to this valet; he himself, disgusted with vices so flagrant in a man of the clerical character, proclaims them aloud, unsolicited, to the world. Meanwhile to allure if not the ears at least the eyes of readers, you foist in here a sort of a diminutive speech, inexpressibly nauseous, and distinguished by inverted commas, after the manner of historians, as if particularly acute and worth reading. Yet any one would think you had introduced, instead of a speech, a chorus of battologists which is a chorus of your friends reiterating their exhortations, “that you would respect yourself”; that you would rather reserve “your nails” (and they confess you have “good long ones”) till you shall have greater occasion for them—that is, I suppose, for another battle with Pontia—and that you would avoid “descending into the arena” with me. But your very talkative friends lose their labour, their precious admonitions, their collection of pithy adages—their commonplace lore and in short, your oil, professor of battology. Disregarding these monitors, you make choice of me, your adversary, for a

habitis me potius usus es consultore adversario, ut responderes cum tuo magno malo. Non ut *tuum* ego *silentium in conscientiam ne verterem*, sed ut conscientiam tuam suo, quod optat, silentio frui ne sinerem. Nam attendite, quæso, & 5 cognoscite nunc, si unquam aliàs, hypocritam numeris omnibus absolutum. Videt necesse sibi esse aliquid pro se dicere; se intuetur, quamvis invitus; videt in turpi præter turpe nihil esse quod possit responderi; circumspectat ecquid foris propè se refugii sit, ecquid adminiculi quo inniti possit; ecquid quo 10 se tegere, sub quo latitare; ecquos in societatem & communionem scelerum suorum possit attrahere, ecquem ordinem aut genus hominum suis privatis rationibus illigare, ut causam suam quasi communem communi periculo & aliorum existimatione defenderet; nihil magis idoneum invenire potuit, in 15 quod omne suum dedecus transferret, nihil in quod deonerare spurcitiam suam commodiùs posset, quàm ipsam Ecclesiam Dei: *Si mea, inquit, propriè tantum res ageretur, imponere fibulam ori meo & obmutescere poteram exemplo Domini mei: sed universus ordo noster, & Ecclesia Dei per meum* 20 *petitur latus.* O scortum & ganearum Antistes! cuius non ori magis, quàm inguini fibulam impositam oportuit; quanto tibi præstitisset obmutuisse, *exemplo Domini tui*, cui Christus Dominus silentium cum capistro imperavit, quàm Ecclesiam

counsellor, that, to your great cost, you may return an answer. You were afraid, not "lest I should construe your silence into guilt," but lest I should not suffer your guilt to enjoy the silence it desires. Attend now, I beseech you readers, and behold a hypocrite complete at all points, if ever there was one. He sees the necessity of saying something in his own defence; however unwilling, he looks in upon himself, and discovers that, in a base cause no answer can be given but what must be base also. He looks around for some extrinsic place of refuge

5 that should be near at hand, for some pillar on which he might lean for support, for something to cover him, under which he may lie concealed. He considers whether he cannot draw to himself some company, some fellowship in his crimes; whether he cannot so bind to his purposes some order,

10 15 some description of men, that they should defend his cause as a common cause, and at a common risk of reputation. He can find no fitter object, to which to transfer his load of infamy—none more convenient on which to disburden himself of his foulness, than the church of God itself. "If (says he) my

20 cause had only been treated as it ought, I should have been able, after the example of my Lord, to put a buckle upon my lips, and to hold my peace; but a blow is aimed at our whole order, and even at the church of God, through my side." O you fornicator,—you high priest of bagnios! who should

25 have a buckle upon your inguinal region as well as upon your mouth—how much better had it been for you to have held your peace, "after the example of your Lord," as one whom Christ the Lord had commanded to silence with a halter, than

Dei hâc tantâ ignominiâ affecisse? Ais *universum Ordinem vestrum à me licet obliquè stigmate notari*. A me ais? dic ubi; recita, si potes, locum; nisi fortè quòd ego in mercenarios, id tu in Ministros Evangelii dictum putas. Erras More; & aliud 5 fortasse multo justiùs haud absimile conquestus esses; non ego vestrum Ordinem obliquè, sed te extra ordinem tua Pontifex & obliquo & directo & transverso stigmate notavit. *Ecclesia, inquis, Dei, cui mea omnia tempora consecravi, per meum petitur latus*. Per tuúmne latus turpissime? qui tantum abest, 10 ut omnia tua tempora Ecclesiæ consecraveris, ut ipsa Ecclesiæ tempora, omissa nonnunquam matutino concionandi munere, furtivis libidinibus consecrâsse haud semel dicaris. Ne repeatam quid etiam temporis famosis libellis Ecclesiastes consecraveris. Per tuúmne latus? at nihil omnino est quod graviore 15 cum vulnere Ecclesiam petat, quàm tuum ipsum impurissimum, Ecclesiæ tam malè contiguum latus. Hoc si vis intellegi per tuum latus, id est, per tuam turpitudinem, propter tua scelera Ecclesiam opprobiis impiorum peti, maculâ aspergi, infamiam contrahere, hoc quidem verum esse non dif- 20 fiteor. Itaque universus ordo tuus, & Ministri præsertim Gallici, qui te optimè norunt, ne tuo illo pestifero latere diu-

thus to have disgraced the church of God! You say that “a stigma has been fixed, though indirectly, upon your whole order by me.” By me do you say? Tell me where? Point out, if you can, the place. Perhaps you may think that what I have

5 said against hirelings, was also meant against the ministers of the gospel. You mistake, More; but there is one thing, and by no means very unlike, of which you might perhaps have complained with far more reason. It is not I, who have indirectly stigmatized your order, but your female pontifex has applied the stigma to you, being out of order, not indirectly only but directly, and transversely too. “A blow is aimed (you say) at the church of God, to which I have devoted all my time, through my side.” Through your side, polluted man? Who, so far from having devoted your whole time to the

10 15 church, are said to have sometimes omitted preaching in the morning, and to have more than once devoted the very times of church-service to stolen lusts: not to mention the time which you, though a preacher, have devoted to notorious libels. Through your side? Now what can aim a heavier blow—

20 25 what can inflict a more grievous wound upon the church, than the ominous contiguity to the church of your contagious side? If you would have it understood “by your side,” that is, by your turpitude, that the church is assailed by the scoffs of the profane, that she is deformed by a blemish, that she has contracted infamy, through your wickedness—this, I cannot deny, is true. Hence, your whole order, especially the Gallic ministers who are most intimately acquainted with you, that they may no longer be endangered by your pestilent presence,

tiùs periclitentur, te ipsum quantum possunt, tuíque contagionem amovere ab se atque depellere conantur: causam ullam aut rationem tuam communicatam sibi nolunt; ne scelerum tuorum atque dedecorum participes fiant: ejectum te ex suo
5 ordine, & exturbatum, ut meritus es, cupiunt; & illam, quam
ais, *fibulam* ori tuo impudicissimo affigere conantur. Macte
estote integritate vestrâ atque constantiâ, viri Ecclesiâ digni;
prospicite, ut instituistis, Ecclesiæ puritati, existimationi,
disciplinæ, exemplo: amovete à lateribus vestris immundum
10 illud & verrinum latus, cuius non solùm ictu Ecclesia læditur,
sed affrictu etiam polluitur. Nolite hanc indignissimam contumeliam pati, ut is, cùm flagitorum suorum nomine meritis
conviciis atque infamiâ petitur, non se peti, sed quasi is, quia
cœnum hominis est, idcirco murus & munimentum Ecclesiæ
15 esset, per suum latus Ecclesiam peti dicat. Abigite procul ab
Ecclesiæ septis concionantem lupum; vocem illam hircinam
tot stupris & adulteriis impuratam, populo verba dantem, imò
vendentem, idque è superiore, quod jactat, loco, ne siveritis
in sacro cœtu ampliùs audiri. Profectò si Ethnicorum legibus,
20 verbi gratia Solonis cautum est, ne quis Rhetor turpitudine
vitæ notatus, civilem concionem habendi ad populum, ne
Atticorum quidem si disertissimus fuisse, jus haberet, addi-
táque præclara ratio est, plus exemplo nocere turpem, quàm

are striving with all their might, to remove—to drive from them both you and your infectious influence. They will hear of no reason, of no remonstrance, that they may not become partakers of your guilt, and of your dishonour. They wish you 5 ejected, driven out as you have deserved, from their body; and are contriving to clap the buckle you mention upon your shameless lips. Stand firm now all ye who are found worthy of the church, and pursue with constancy what you have begun in integrity. Watch, as you have determined, over the 10 purity, over the character of the church, for an example of discipline. Cast off from you this filthy boar of a fellow, whose rubbing pollutes, as his stroke wounds the church. And when he is assailed by merited reproach and infamy on account of his licentious behaviour, disdain to suffer the indig- 15 nity of his assertion that it is not himself who is assailed, but the church through his side: as if he, because the mere dirt of a man, were therefore the wall—the bulwark of the church! Chase far away from the fences of the church this preaching wolf. Resolve that that goatish voice, giving, nay selling mere 20 words to the people, and this too, as he boasts, from a higher place—resolve that that voice, defiled by so many acts of whoredom, so many of adultery, shall no more be heard in a religious assembly. Indeed, if it was provided by the laws of the heathens, for example those of Solon, that no rhetorician 25 noted for the irregularity of his life, should be permitted to deliver a political harangue to the people, no not even the most renowned of the Athenians for eloquence—giving as the memorable reason, that a licentious character did more mis-

oratione quamvis castissimâ atque sanctissimâ prodesse, quo etiam nomine Timarchus, vir inter primos illius Reipublicæ accusante Æschine, damnatus est, quanto est indignius scortatorem atque adulterum tanquam Dei nuntium & ministrum, 5 ad Christianum Populum sacras habendi conciones jus in Ecclesia perniciosissimum obtainere. Nolite committere, ut Magistratus Ethnicus, Deique expers, religiosior atque sanctior in foro fuisse, quâm Christi sacra synodus in Ecclesia esse videatur. Nolite vereri, quem iste scrupulum callidus injectit, 10 si eum quem approbâstis, cui sanctas manus imposuistis, cui gregem Dei commisistis, perspectum nunc adulterinum & spurium ejeceritis, ne quis vestrum judicium aut prudentiam desideret; neque enim Paulus hac in parte, ut nôstis, vidit omnia: illud veremini, si Pastoris in munere talem retinueritis, 15 ne omnes non judicium modò & prudentiam, sed religionem quoque & pietatem & gregis denique curam in vobis requirant. Hæc ad pastores de te, More; nunc ad gregem pro me pauca dicam. *Patriæ, inquis, meæ greges qui pascuntur inter lilia, nescio quam in invidiam vocas.* Utinam ne ista lilia, spinas 20 esse aliquando sentiant; verùm non ego tuæ patriæ greges in invidiam, sed tuus Clamor Regius ad societatem sui furoris

chief by his example, than good by a speech of the most sanctified purity; and under which character Timarchus, a man of the first consequence in that republic, was condemned on the accusation of *Æschines*—how much more disgraceful is 5 it, that a whoremonger and adulterer, under the disguise of a messenger and minister of God, should obtain the fatal permission of delivering religious discourses in the church to a Christian people! Don't let it be seen, that a heathen magistrate, without the knowledge of God, was more religious, 10 more holy, in a popular assembly than the sacred synod of Christ, in the church. Dismiss the fear—a scruple which he has artfully infused—that if you should eject the man, (having found him adulterate and spurious), whom you had before approved, on whom you had laid holy hands, to whom 15 you had confided the flock of God—any one can question your judgment or prudence: in transactions of this nature, Paul himself, as ye well know, did not foresee everything. Fear rather, should you retain such a man in the office of pastor, not merely lest your judgment and prudence, but your 20 religion, your piety, the care of the flock, should be required at your hands.

Thus much to pastors, More, for your sake: I shall now say a few words to the flock, for my own. “To what ill-will (you exclaim) do you provoke the flocks of my country, whose 25 pasture is among lilies!” would they may never find those lilies to be thorns! It is not I, however, who provoke the flocks of your country to ill-will, but your Royal Cry would provoke them to be partakers of your fury. And who would not

vocare cupiebat. Quem enim non irritâssent istiusmodi opprobria? *maximè omnium Galli nostri reformati, non modo horrendo facto perculti, sed ejusdem injustâ infamiâ pressi, plurimum allaboraverunt, ut parricidium & parricidas cognoscerent.* Hæc & multa alia acerba quidem & planè hostilia Clamor iste Gallorum sub nomine Reformatorum, in nos clamitavit: ad quæ omnia respondi solum, Gallis etiam reformatis impositam eandem olim necessitatem fuisse, ut suum quoque Regem hostis numero haberent. Verùm ego incogitior (quid enim de me non fatear potius, aut non indictum velim, quod Ecclesias Galliæ Reformatas, quas esse scio nobis omnibus charissimas, in invidiam vocare possit) incogitator, inquam, fui, qui isti insanissimo Clamori vocem ullam Ecclesiarum aut fratrum interjectam esse credidissem. Scimus eos quo sub regno vivant, quibus in periculis, quibus in angustiis evangelii causâ versentur; & tamen amplum hoc sibi esse, si tueri sua queant. Nos ut vel minimam nostrâ causâ invidiam apud suos Reges aut offensionem susciperent, nunquam petivimus; ut de nostris factis aut consiliis suum sensum declararent, tametsi fratrum judicia plurimi semper fecimus, tamen ne hoc iis periculum crearet, nunquam postulavimus; preces eorum, non sententias aut suffragia prodesse nobis censuimus, suam autem erga Reges fidem ex suo in nos odio

be provoked by reproaches like these? "Our French reformed, above all others, thunderstruck not only by that deed of horror, but troubled in spirit with the unmerited infamy of the thing, have laboured the most earnestly to be well-
5 informed of the parricide and of its perpetrators!" These, and many such things, bitter and openly hostile, has that cry, in the name of the French reformed, clamoured against us: to all which I have simply answered, that even upon the French reformed the same necessity was heretofore imposed, of looking upon their own king in the light of an enemy. Nay, I have been so thoughtless as to suppose that some voice of the churches or of the brethren might have helped to swell that mad cry: for what should I not rather confess of myself—what should I not wish to unsay that might provoke to ill-will the
10 15 French reformed churches, which I know to be most dear to us all? We know those brethren—we know under what a government they can endure to live; we know in what perils, in what straits they can bear to exist, for the gospel's sake; and yet, that to be able to defend their own, is all they desire.
20 It has never been our intention, that, on our account, they should suffer from their own kings, the smallest particle of ill-will or displeasure. It has never been our desire, as that might have been dangerous to them, that they should publicly declare their own sense of our deeds or of our counsels, though
25 we have always valued at the highest price the opinions of the brethren. It is their prayers, not their opinions or their suffrages which we have accounted of profit to us; for certainly we do not conceive that their attachment to kings is to be dis-

verborūmque acerbitate perspici aut probari non arbitramur. Multa deinde præteris, *quæ nimis meum in religione animum produnt*; & sapis: fac & illud quoque præterea, quod te hominem *sacris addictum* Cotytiis, credo, aut Isiacis, non 5 Evangelicis (nisi *addictum* ita ut *devotum* intelligis) *adversarium*, quod ego mihi honestissimum duco, nactus sum. At enim illi *qui diversum à nobis in religione sentiunt*, sic enim tibi prospiciens, Ecclesiæ prospicere videri velles, *ex ista fabula Ecclesiis nostris insultandi ansam arripiunt*, quasi patientur 10 *ipsæ qualia vulgò turpia dictu sacrificulis objiciuntur suis*: & meritò quidem, si patientur, verùm spes est, non esse passuras: salus certè unica rerum est, si pati noluerint. Si enim patientur, quæ tu in me tela levissima conjectisti, ea in te ego acutissima retorqueo. *Satanæ triumphus paratur*, *scandalum infirmioribus* *creatur*, *inimicis gaudium*, *sociis dolor*, *fidei damnum*. 15 Hæc vera sunt non me accusante, sed te impunito. Talem esse quenquam in Reformata videlicet Ecclesia Ministrum adversarii gaudent: accusat aliquis? multum, mihi crede, de isto

cerned or proved by their hatred to us—their bitterness in words.

You then pass over many things, “which disclose but too plainly my sentiments in religion”; and you are wise in so 5 doing. Suppose you also pass over, that I have found “in you, though a man set apart for sacred offices, an adversary”—a circumstance which to myself I deem most honorable. I suspect, however, those sacred offices to be the mysteries of Cotytto or of Isis, instead of the offices of the gospel: unless, 10 indeed, you understand the expression “set apart” in the same sense as “devoted.” But “those who think differently from us in matters of religion (for thus when providing for yourself, you would have it appear, that you are provident for the church) seize the opportunity, furnished by that tale, of insulting our churches; as if they themselves would suffer that 15 such scandals should be cast upon their principal ministers as are too shameful even for utterance.” And they are deservedly insulted, *if* they suffer it; but there is hope that they will not: it is clear, that the very safety of their body depends upon their 20 not suffering it: for as certainly as they do suffer it, I shall return upon yourself those arrows, which you have so feebly shot at me, sharpened to their utmost point.

“The triumph of Satan is at hand: offence is prepared for the weaker, exultation for enemies, sorrow for companions, 25 injury for the faith.” All this is true, not from my accusation, but from your impunity. The adversaries are delighted that such a minister can be found in the reformed church. Does any one accuse him? Depend upon it, they straightway abate

gaudio protinus remittunt: damnatur is incorruptis & integrerrimis Ecclesiarum suffragiis? Nihil æquè dolent: nam qui Presbyterum Reformatum flagitorum incusat, accusat idem sacerdotes omnes & sacrificulos eorundem facinorum sibi 5 conscos: qui illum absolvit, hos multo faciliùs absolvat necesse est. Frustra nos quidem opinionum quarundam & dogmatum, frustra etiam fidei reformationem gloriamur, nisi morum sancta censura pariter quoque vigeat. Non doctrinam tantùm reformatam, sed Doctores reformatos esse convenit, 10 si erectam *sacrificulis*, erectam *Satanae insultandi ansam* cupimus. *Magnum*, ais, *honorem habere me Ordinibus Fœderati Belgii*, *quos indigere putem notore me*: monitore opinor volebas dicere. Immò verò tu illis quem honorem habuisti? quorum existimatio gravissima tam apud te parum 15 potuit, ut eorum de te opinionem fallere turpissimè malueris, quām flagitiosam vitæ tuæ licentiam refrænare; quíque ejusmodi homo cùm sis, arrogare tibi tantum potes, ut existimes tot viros graves atque prudentes te *notore*, etiam è *superiore loco* indigere; tuo *admonitu* posse unquam sapere; ut idcirco 20 os tuum è suggesto importunissimum tantæ gravissimorum hominum frequentiæ, & præsertim sacræ concioni offeren-

somewhat of their delight. Is he condemned by the free, uninfluenced suffrages of the churches? their vexation is hardly to be borne: for he who charges a reformed presbyter with licentious conduct, accuses at the same time the whole body of the 5 priests, with their principal ministers, as being guilty of the same crimes; and he who can acquit the former, must of necessity have far less difficulty in acquitting the latter. In vain do we glory in the reformation of certain opinions, and institutions—in vain in the reformation of the faith itself, 10 unless the sacred censure of manners also be maintained in vigour. It is proper, that there should be not only a reformed doctrine, but reformed doctors, if we would abolish “for ministers Satan’s privilege of heaping abuse.”

You say “I am held in great honour by the United States of 15 Holland, which might make me think that they stood in need of me for a notor”: ‘monitor,’ I imagine, you meant to say. But in what honour have you been held by them? When their formal and elevating countenance had so little effect upon you that you basely preferred to gull their good opinion of you, to 20 restraining the flagitious licence of your life; and when, in spite of your shameless character, you have the arrogance to suppose that so many grave and prudent persons stand in need of you for a “notor,” forsooth, and “from a higher place”; to suppose that they could ever be made wise by your 25 “admonitions”; and that you were accordingly at liberty to present your clamorous mouth from the rostrom to so great a concourse of serious people, and above all, for the delivery of

dum sit. Qui denique apud quos tanto te in pretio esse dicens,
iis nihil aliud nisi aut minimum judicium, aut maximam doc-
torum penuriam relinquis. Minimum profectò ipsi sibi hono-
rem habent, qui abs te Doctore & Ecclesiaste meliores disce-
5 dere se posse crediderint. Verùm tu nihilominus buccam
inflas: *Quid nunc, inquis, memorem tot illustres ac principes
viros, tot proceres, tot Ecclesias, tot Academias, quæ me fovent
& ornant, vel optant & exambiunt.* Et ego, quid, inquam,
nunc memorem tot agyrtas, tot empiricos, tot seplasiarios,
10 tot circulatores, quos Romæ aut Venetiis iisdem penè verbis
suas pyxides & pharmaca vendentes, præteriens audivi.
Atqui dum hæc scribo, inquis, literas accipio quibus ad Eccle-
siaste ordinarii munus & sacra Theologæ professionem in-
vitor in urbe nobilissima. Nam hoc certè habes, in quo omnes
15 Doctores circumforaneos venalitios ambitione superas. Pri-
mùm per amicos tui similes occultam das operam, ut quot
potes ex locis inviteris: posteaquam id difficile repertum est,
ex quo jam passim notus es, hoc solum (quæ tua animi ege-
stas atque mendicitas vera est) miserè contendis, & nonnun-
20 quam perficis ut omnino inviteris, quamvis eâ disertâ lege &

a religious discourse! In short, you represent those, with whom, by your own account, you are in such high estimation, as persons either of the least judgment, or in the greatest want of doctors. Truly, those who expected to be made better
5 by their attendance upon you, their doctor and preacher, have for themselves but a mighty small share of honour.

But be this as it may, you continue to inflate your cheek. “Why now (you ask) should I mention the number of illustrious, nay princely personages, the many nobles, churches,
10 colleges, which either honour me by espousing my cause, or caress me by their good wishes?” And I ask in my turn—why should I mention the many mountebanks, the many empirics, perfumers, hawkers, whom, in passing the streets of Rome or Venice, I have heard, almost in the very same words, vending
15 their drugs and gallipots?

But again; “while I am even writing these words, I receive a letter containing an invitation to the office of preacher in ordinary, and to the professorship of sacred theology, in a city of the first note.” And among your qualifications you have
20 certainly this one—the art of canvassing for favour, in which you surpass all hawking quack-doctors. You first exert secret influence, by the instrumentality of friends like yourself, to procure invitations from as many different places as possible; and though you found no small difficulty here, from the cir-
25 cumstance of your being now so generally known, yet this is your only and miserable resource; a fact which shows the real poverty—the beggarliness of your mind. Sometimes, you get yourself actually invited, but with the clear understanding

pactu interposito, ut omnino ne venias. Hoc modo invitatum te nuper in Galliam, & ni fallor, Montalbanum, invitatum & Franekeram, vel Groningham intelligo: Harum utram in urbem sanè nescio, in alterutram sat scio: de loco enim fateor 5 nondum mihi satis liquere, de re satis. Hanc demum rationem excogitare coacti sunt homines importunitate tuâ fatigati & victi, quâ & abs te simul tanquam à peste sibi caverent, & tuæ miseræ gloriolæ multo cum risu vela panderent; téque erraticum sophistam & planum tuismet ventis ludibrium com-10 mendarent. Sed ne cui fortè vanior quâm mendacior esse videaris, in illud nunc incidimus usitatissimum tibi & impudentissimum artificium quoddam tuum maledicendi simul & maledicentiam vituperandi. Quoties enim strenuè conviciando vel ad inopiam vel ad ravim, quasi ad incitas redactus es 15 exhausto penu, dum novum virus colligis, subitò bonus & bellus abhorrere te fingis à conviciis omnibus: nolle te scilicet *luto ludere*, nolle *sordes mihi regerendo manus tuas coinquinare*;

and express stipulation that you should not accept the invitation. In this manner I understand, that you were lately invited into France, and I am not misinformed, to Montauban; that you were also invited to Frankeram, or Groningen, 5 to which of these cities I really do not know; that it was one of them I am sufficiently informed: for though the intelligence as to the place is, I own, not yet quite clear; as to the thing, it is abundantly satisfactory. Wearied out and overborne by your importunity, people were at last forced to 10 devise this method of guarding themselves against you, as they would guard against the pestilence; and thus, with no little merriment, unfurled the sails for your paltry ostentation, committing you, a wandering sophist, the mere sport of the winds of your own airy applause.

15 But lest any one should haply think you a vain man rather than a liar, we are now fallen upon that most impudent artifice of yours—an artifice too which you employ the most frequently—namely that of indulging in abuse yourself, at the very time that you condemn it in others. Whenever you become 20 distressed for want of matter, or have made yourself hoarse, through the violence of your abusive clamours, then, as if reduced to extremity by the exhaustion of your stock, that you may gain time to collect fresh venom, your nature suddenly changes into the mild and milky, that cannot endure 25 any species of abuse. You have no inclination, not you, “to play with mud”; nor have you any desire “to dirty your hands with sending me back the garbage I flung at you. It gives you no pleasure to gain a victory over a barking cur”; and it would

non placere tibi de cane latrante victoriam; malle te omittere latrantem caniculam. Quid hæc quæso nisi convicia sunt? quæ dum deponere te dicis, totis viribus intorques; ita caudam atterere & simul ringere idem tibi est: idque ipsum agis, dum 5 agere te negas; usque èd totus ex mendacio conflatus, ut ne verax quidem utrovis modo sine mendacio esse possis: si enim negas te nunc maledicere, quod tu negas, verba ipsa, te invito fatentur; si fateris, tua eadem verba id ipsum, quod fateris, negant. Quid est, si hæc non est *maledicendi ars* illa, quam tu 10 *Dæmonum Rheticam* infamis libelli editor *vocare te aīs solere*. Sic tu nimirum homo sanctus & veriloquus, *Christum didicisti & doces*: id est, dum latrare te negas, mordes. Tibi- met tam apertè mendax, in me ut sis religiosior, non expecto: tentas, ut video, omnia, captas omnia; si quem fortè rumus- 15 culum, aut susurrum aquilones cum fugitivis famigerantibus ad vos perferunt, aures arrigis: Hinc illud, *non is es*, inquis, *de quo mentiri fama vereatur*; minùs quidem tu hīc subdolus es, quām soles. Famam etiam mendacem mihi minitaris; dici nempe *me aliorum ingenia ex moribus meis æstimare, nulli*

be far more agreeable to you “to have nothing to do with a yelping whelp.” And what is this, I beseech you, if it is not abuse? hurled too, with all your might, at the moment you are affirming that you have laid it aside—thus rubbing your 5 tail and snarling at the same time; which very thing you likewise do the while you deny it. You are so entirely compounded of falsehood, that you cannot even speak the truth, in either way, without a falsehood: for if you deny that you are abusive, the very words, whether you will or not, confess what 10 you deny: if you confess it, those same words of yours deny the very thing which you confess. What is this if it is not that “art of slandering,” which you, the editor of the infamous libel, say “you are accustomed to call the rhetoric of devils?” It is thus that you (a man without doubt holy and a speaker of the 15 truth), “have learnt”—it is thus “you teach Christ”: that is to say, you bite, while you deny that you bark. That you, who are plainly false to yourself, should be more religiously scrupulous towards me, is what I do not expect. I see that you try everything; catch at everything. If, peradventure, the north- 20 erly winds should carry to you, along with the hunger-bringing fugitives, any little piece of news, or even a whisper, you begin to prick up your ears: from some such intelligence as this originated that remark of yours—“You are not a man of whom fame may be afraid to tell a lie”; in which, it must be 25 owned, you are less subtle than usual. You even threaten me with a lying fame—namely, that it is famed, “I judge of other men’s dispositions by my own manners, and that there is not a vice inveighed against by me, to which I am not myself

non vitio quod insequor obnoxium. Ergo ego scortator, ut fama mentitur, ergo adulter; hæc enim in te crimina insector. Fac sanè periculum famæ; age, insimula, dic, siquid habes, audacter & clare; tempus, locum, nomina simul ede; quod ego 5 in te facio: Dic cum qua Claudia Pelletta, dic cum qua Pontia, dic siquo in horto, siqua in domo, noctu an interdiu, siquod in judicium adductus unquam sim, siquod unquam recusavem: hæc tibi omnia dicenda sunt, hæc ego in te omnia demonstravi. Invenies profectò me ad injurias meas tuáque crima 10 persecuenda attulisse hanc dicendi libertatem, & anteactæ vitæ meæ certissimum indicium atque fructum, & agendæ post-hac firmissimum propositum. Nunquam me libertatis hujus pœnitere audies, ut Lucium Crassum pœnituisse olim ferunt, quod Caium Carbonem unquam in judicium vocavisset; cùm 15 hac sua severitate præcisam sibi aut circumscripam in posterum liberiùs vivendi veniam apud omnes arbitraretur. Is Caium Carbonem civem improbum in judicium Senatûs populi que Romani vocavit: ego te, More, & meo & populi Anglicani nomine, quem tu infami Clamore edito prior lacessisti, 20 illo Carbone multò nigriorem, judicia patria detrectantem, sæculorum omnium judiciis trado. Quid tui interim famigeruli de me mussitent aut loquantur, unicè securus. Tu senties eam

prone." Therefore I am a fornicator, therefore I am an adulterer, as that lying fame reports: for these vices I inveigh against as yours. Make trial now of fame; come, bring your charge; if you have any thing to say, speak out distinctly and

5 boldy; make known the time, and place, not forgetting names; the plan I adopt in respect of yourself. Say with what Claudia Pelletta, with what Pontia; tell us in what garden, in what house, whether by night or by day; whether I was ever called to account, whether I ever refused to appear: all these

10 things may be affirmed of you, all these things I have proved against you! You will find, in fact, that, to the investigation of my own injuries and of your crimes, I have brought along with me this liberty of speech, as the clearest discovery and fruit of my past, and as the least questionable aim of my future

15 life. You will never hear me repent of this liberty, as it is said Lucius Crassus formerly repented that he had ever impeached Caius Carbo when he found that, by this his severity, he was considered by every one to have narrowed and circumscribed the licence of his subsequent mode of life. Lucius Crassus

20 called to the bar of the senate and of the people of Rome, Caius Carbo as a profligate citizen: I, More, deliver you over to the bar of posterity, in my own name, and in the name of the people of England, to whom, by publishing that infamous *Cry*, you gave the first provocation, as one blacker far than

25 that Carbo, and as shifting off the sentence of your country. In the meantime, I feel perfectly secure, whatever your hungry emigrants may mutter or prate about me. You will find that I have within me that pleasing testimony of my life, that

esse vitæ meæ & apud me conscientiam, & apud bonos existimationem, eam esse & præteritæ fiduciam & reliquæ spem bonam, ut nihil impedire me aut absterrere possit, quo minus flagitia tua, si pergis laccessere, etiam liberiùs adhuc & diligenter 5 persecuar; tæque simul tuásque etiam famæ quas meditarris corruptelas & perspexero facilè & risero. Interea, ne cui dubium sit, quin tu omnia pvestigando nihil prorsus in me habebas quod verum crimen sit, aut si haberes, quin id cupidissimè statim & malitiosissimè dices modisque omnibus am-
 10 plificares, videamus quām non crimina quæ sint, des criminis; etiam rectè facta quām odiosè calumnieris. Primùm *cur Clamori authoris anonymi responderim quæris, & non tot aliis qui nomen ediderunt suum.* Quis adversario tam aliena & inepta interroganti rationem redderet? ego tamen ut quām
 15 æquanimiter tecum agam videas, reddam. Cur Clamoris authori responderim, rogas? quia jussus, inquam, publicè ab iis quorum authoritas apud me gravis esse debuit; vix alioqui manum admoturus. Deinde quia nominatim læsus: nam & tu hîc, quamvis id minimè velis ut existimationis aliquam meæ
 20 quoque rationem ducam, veniam vel invitus dabis, quam omnes boni dant, scio, libentissimè. At cur *non aliis, inquis, respondisti?* Clamant & illi, nec minus fortiter: rursus respon-

I have that esteem among good men, that confidence from the past, that hope so fair of the future, that nothing can hinder, nothing can deter me, should you persist in provocation, from tracing your crimes with still greater freedom and diligence, and from easily seeing through and exposing to derision your meditated corruptions of fame.

Meanwhile, that no doubt may remain, of your having found, after the keenest search, absolutely nothing that will bear the name of crime, or if you had, of your instantly 10 claiming it, of your magnifying it, in every possible way, with the utmost eagerness of malice—let us see how you treat as crimes things which are not criminal; nay, how hatefully you slander things correctly done. In the first place, you ask—"Why I should return an answer to the *Cry* of an 15 anonymous author, and not to so many others who have published their names?" Why should I give the reason to an adversary who asks questions so foolish, and so foreign to the subject? However, that you may see with what temper I deal with you, I will tell you the reason. You ask why I should 20 answer the author of the *Cry*? I reply, because I was publicly ordered so to do by those whose authority ought to have weight with me; else, I had hardly laid a hand upon you. Again, because I was expressly injured: for, however little 25 you may like that I also should pay some regard to my own character, you yourself will think allowable in this particular, though against your inclination, what I am sure is most freely allowed by all good men. Yet why "not answer others (say you) ? They also raise a cry, and with no less noise." I again

deo, ut prius, quia ad rationes publicas non vocatus, non accedo. Deinde, quia non læsus; nam & hoc, quamvis tu id maximè velles ut impunè tibi quenquam lædere liceret, non est leve. Deinde quia ex vestro ipsorum judicio tantum Salmasio tribuimus (quem Defensorem Regium, quasi solus is esset & instar omnium, nominare soletis) ut post illum posse quenquam aliū dicere quod momenti esset non existimaremus. Vis plura? quia liberum erat; quia non vacabat; quia denique homo sum, humana mihi latera sunt, non ferrea, tu licet Alexander æra-
rius sis. Aliud quiddam opus est, ut mihi videtur, quo tot importunis Clamatoribus ora melius obturentur. Quām multa tuus ille Stentor anonymous clamitabat, quæ à Salmasio clama-
mata priùs & conclamata erant? quibus ego toties repetitis, quamvis cum miseriâ ac tædio sæpiùs respondissem, tamen
15 quia cum isto vociferatore verboso certare ubique non libuit, *languet* tibi scilicet *oratio mea, quoties pro populo dico*: tibi, inquam, cui *Gallicâ nive frigidius est*, non esse tautologum. De me si accuratiùs dixi, non eò id feci, quo ego minùs populo quām mihi studerem, sed propterea quòd tuus Clamor tum
20 quidem novum aliquid suppeditabat, unde possem ab odiosa crambe vestra nonnunquam respirare. Quod itaque facetè inquis, *non immeritò Defensio pro populo secunda dicitur*; quo-

reply as before, because I go not uncalled to public business. Secondly, because I did not feel myself injured—no trivial reason, though it is your supreme wish, after injuring another, to escape with impunity. Thirdly, because, agreeably to 5 your own opinion, we have shown so much consideration for Salmasius, as not to suppose that any other person after him should have anything to say worth notice: for you yourselves are accustomed to style him the royal defender, as if he were the only one, and himself equal to all the rest. Would you 10 have more reasons? Because it was at my own option; because I had not leisure; in fine, because I am a man, because my composition is human, not of iron, though you may be an Alexander of brass. It appears to me, that something else is necessary to stop effectually the mouths of so many outrageous 15 criers. How many things have been cried, by that anonymous Stentor of yours which had been before cried and proclaimed by Salmasius! and to which things, so often repeated, though I have wearied myself even to pain in replying still more often; yet, because it was not at my choice to contend always 20 with that wordy vociferator, "my language grows feeble, whenever I plead for the people": that is as you think, who are of opinion, that, not to be tautologous is to be "more frigid than Gallican snow." And if I have pleaded with a more earnest diligence for myself, it is not that I am more concerned 25 for myself than for the people, but because your *Cry*, by supplying something new, allowed me an occasional respite from your nauseous cabbage! Your facetious remark, therefore, that "it is not improperly said to be a Second Defence of the

niam id faustum est, ex ore præsertim adversarii, omen accipio. Tu licet novum quotannis clamorem edideris, rumpaste prius licebit, quam clamorem secundum edidisse dicaris. Alterum meum crimen est quod in laudes Reginæ Suecorum 5 serenissimæ per occasionem ab adversario ipso datam, digressus sum: & inter alia dixeram (satis modestè quidem ut opinor) nequid attribuerem mihi quod Reginam contra Regiam, ut videbatur, causam, tam mihi faventem reperissem, nescire me planè quâ meâ sorte id evenisset: malebam ad sortem, 10 ad sydera, ad si quis est occultus vel animorum vel rerum consensus aut moderamen, quam ad meum quicquid erat, vel ingenii, vel acuminis, vel copiæ referre videri. Hanc tu calumniandi simul & parasitandi materiam nactus, fremere exemplò, quasi indignum hoc esset; & *lutum* illud in visceribus tuis concretum, in ore mox tibi, ut frequentissimè solet, fluitare. Age, despue; quid est? *eam*, inquis, *propterea tam importunè laudabas, ut cum ea te componeres lutum.* Tûne Morus es an Momus? an uterque idem est? utro te nomine appellem dubito: quis enim præter Morum aut momum tam 15 sinistre ac perperam interpretatus hæc esset? quod ullum dictum modestissimum hæc tanta malitia non depravaret atque 20

People," as it is a happy one, I take for my omen; and the rather, as it is from the mouth of an enemy. You may utter a new Cry every year; but you will be left to burst yourself with crying, before it is said you have uttered a second cry.

5 My other crime is, that I went out of my way to introduce an eulogium on the most serene the queen of Sweden; though the occasion was furnished me by my adversary himself. That I might assume no merit to myself on the ground of my having the queen so favorable to me, in opposition, as it appeared,
10 to the royal cause, I had declared, among other things, (and in my judgment, with abundant modesty) that I really knew not by what chance it had happened. I chose rather to seem to refer the thing to chance, to the stars, to the consent or guidance of spirits or of things, if there be any such invisible
15 agency, than to any supposed manifestations of my genius, my acuteness, or of my fertility. But you, laying hold of this as matter for slander and parasitism, begin to bluster away about it as of pernicious example; when the mud collected in your inward parts begins also, as is most commonly the case,
20 to work upward towards your mouth. Come then, vomit it out; and what is it? "the reason (you say) of your bepraising her so zealously, is, that you may reconcile her to your mud." Are you Morus, or Momus? Or are both one and the same person? I am in doubt by which name I should call you: for
25 who but Morus or Momus could ever have interpreted this matter in so absurd, so left-handed a manner? What language is there, though of unexampled modesty, which malice like this might not deprave and pervert? Then you draw also from

perverteret? Tum illud simul depromis ex peculio tuo servile
& parasiticum; *nesciebat Christina se tibi esse tam familiarem.* Téne scabellum hominis ex tuis loculis & immunditiis
Christinæ suggerere quid nesciat, aut quid dicat? atqui sciebat
5 se illa pro sua singulari in literatos benevolentia Salmasio
familiarem; cui me tamen arbitrio suo liberrimâque sententiâ
haud semel dicta est prætulisse. Sed *hoc unum*, inquis, *Regina*
non meruit abs te laudari. Abs te ergo illaudatissime? concedo
libens! quis enim obstare potest, si tibi modò libeat vel invi-
10 tissimi cujusvis laudes contaminare? experire sanè; perse-
quere modò istud, quod veluti specimen laudationum tuarum
egregium hoc loco inseruisti; *quam supra mortalitatis mo-*
dum inusitata naturæ vis, & stupendum ingenii lumen
evexit. Perge, inquam, & macte isto ore: ab isto exorsu quan-
15 tumvis in sublime evoles per me licet: isto enim tenore, si
perrexis, mirificum tu quidem fastigium ac prope nubi-
ferum tam altis substructionibus impositurus videris. Mihi,
fateor, non placet sic altè insurgere; unde statim necesse erit,
vel ridiculè ruam, vel inter nubes frigescam. Attamen *iis*,

your own slave's hoard the servile and parasitical remark—“Christina was not aware that she was upon terms of such familiarity with you.” And do you, the mere footstool of a man! take it upon you to suggest to Christina, out of your 5 common-places, and your pollutions, what she was not aware of, or what she might say? And yet, from her unparalleled favour towards literary men, she was aware of being upon terms of familiarity with Salmasius; and of her own accord, from her own uninfluenced opinion, has been said to have 10 more than once expressed a preference of me to him. But, say you, “This single consideration—the queen had not merited praises from you.” What—she has merited praises then from you, the least of all men praiseworthy? Granted without dispute: for if you choose to contaminate by your touch 15 the praises of any one, however much against his will, who can help it? Come then, try your skill. Only put the finishing stroke to what you foist in here as a choice specimen of your praises: “whom an extraordinary energy of nature, an astonishing effulgence of genius, has raised above the 20 sphere of mortality.” Go on, I say, and prosper in this strain; from such a beginning, you have my permission to take your flight to any elevation you please: for, if you proceed at this rate, we shall behold you, from a ground-work thus deeply laid, erecting a fabric of that stupendous loftiness, as to go 25 near to prop the clouds! It does not suit me, I confess, to mount so high: for in the instant, I should unavoidably tumble thence in ridiculous plight, or, among the clouds, should be frozen to death. You proceed, however—“you are

inquis, *dotibus insignis es, quæ possunt etiam heroibus animum laxantibus placere.* Esto; sunt & tuæ dotes & præsertim scripta, quæ heroibus placere quiddam aliud laxantibus, possint. Et in primis ista tua quæ sequitur sapientissima & 5 ministello te digna ad Typographos conciuncula; quam idcirco prætereo: nam ad tertium jam crimen meum perveni; quod dixerim nimirum, uno cum famulo me peregrè fuisse: crimen grave; quo ego nomine haud uno in loco perstringor: id scilicet nefas erat meminisse, ne versificatores vestri, qui ex 10 egestate nescio qua emersisse me per hanc rerum apud nos conversionem versificabant, cecinisse falsa reperirentur. Jo- cum verò hic tuum, quando hæc tam rara avis est, non possum prætermittere. Non equidem vobis *Typographis litem unquam intenderim, non certè magis quam illi servo qui Mil-* 15 *tonum cuntem peregrè comitabatur.* O longè & miserè peti- tum! quid hâc capitîs cucurbitâ facias, ex qua, ut id maximè labores, nullam salis micam potis es extundere. Sed quietus homo & fugitans litium es; itaque non meo, sed ne tuo quidem servo litem intendis, qui domesticæ turpitudinis tuæ fugitivus, 20 secretiora flagitia & nefarias libidines tuas divulgavit. Quar- tum est, siquidem id crimen dici meum debet, quod tuum est mendacium, *in eodem scilicet libro, quem scatere, ais*

eminent for those endowments, which, when relaxing their minds, can give solace to heroes." Beyond a doubt; there are likewise endowments, and especially writings of your own, which might give solace to heroes, when relaxing in another 5 way. And first of all, that short but most sapient address of yours to printers, which follows next in order, and is worthy of a paltry minister like you; I therefore pass it by.

For, I am come now to my third crime; namely, that I said I went abroad with one servant. This is a weighty crime: for 10 under this appellation, I receive a rub for it in more places than one. The very mention of this was no doubt ominous, since your versifiers might be found out to have sung falsely: for they had versified that, in consequence of this revolution of things among us, I rose from I know not what beggarli- 15 ness of origin! You jest, however, in this place; as it is so rare a bird, I am unable to pass by: "I certainly could never have meant to quarrel" with you, "printers, any more than with the servant whom Milton took with him abroad." How miserably far-fetched! What would you be at with this head of 20 yours, which so resembles a pumpkin? from which, with all your sweating, you cannot hammer out a single grain of wit. Yet you are a quiet man and a hater of quarrels; and therefore intend none with my servant, nor even with your own, though a fugitive from your domestic shame, and the divulger 25 of your more secret vices—your abominable lusts.

The fourth is, since what is your lie must be called my crime, that I "had the impudence to censure, and gravely to speechify about the commonwealth and the duty of citizens

*discinctorum nepotum festivitatibus, ausum me censuram agere, eō graviter concionari de Republica deque civium officio. Quis non germanum te nunc dicat Epicureum? cujus neque in moribus honestas, neque in scriptis urbanitas 5 ulla reperiatur. Mirum non est si hoc nomine facetiis omnibus infensor sis, cùm quia negantur tibi, tum quia te pungunt: non mirum est, inquam, si tibi tam ulceroso sal omnis inimicus est. Id mirum, Professor cùm sis, cur mihi succenseas qui sic diligenter salarium tibi curo. At verò quos tu *jocos è lustro* 10 *popinaque desumptos* falsò ais (nisi desumptos ex lustris idcirco dicis, quòd te illic latitantem extraxerint) eos si cæteri omnes non in honestos aut illiberales, sed honestos atque urbanos tuámque putredinem perfricanti sales concessos non negaverint, tum quidem tua professoris insulsi ignorantia, ut 15 persæpè aliàs, hinc satis manifesta est, qui id parum convenire dicas, quod Marcus Tullius in oratore summum esse statuit, ubi de oratione L. Crassi in Cn. Domitium summa cum admiratione sic loquitur. Nec enim concio major unquam fuit, nec apud populum gravior oratio, quàm hujus contra*

in the very book," surely, "which," as you will have it, "is full of the gayeties of loose wassailers." Who would not think you now a true follower of Epicurus, who has neither polish in his manners, nor elegance in his writings. From this character,

5 it is not to be wondered at, that you should be an enemy to all the forms of wit, both because they are denied to you, and because you are galled by them: it is not to be wondered at, I say, that you, who are so full of sores, should have an antipathy to salt. It is this which is rather to be wondered at, that

10 you, who are a professor, should be so angry with me, for being so anxious to preserve your salary for you. And as to those "jestes" which you falsely affirm "to have been taken from the brothel and the tavern," (unless you understand by the expression "taken from the brothel," that they took you

15 thence who were lurking there), if those jestes are allowed by the rest of mankind to be such as are not unbecoming a man of honour and liberality, but at once polite and honourable, and to be given you as salt with which to rub over your mass of corruption—then, that professor's ignorance of yours,

20 which is not seasoned with one particle of salt, as it is sufficiently manifest on other occasions, so is it in your declaring that to be out of place, which Marcus Tullius, when speaking with the highest admiration of an oration of Lucius Crassus against Cn. Domitius, pronounced to be the sovereign excellence of an orator. His words are:—"Never was there a more masterly harangue, never was there an oration which had a greater effect upon the people, and which was more seasoned with wit and gayety, than the oration of this man against his

collegam in censura nuper, neque lepore & festivitate conditior. Et paulo infra, id uni Crasso contigisse ait, ut non solùm venustissimus & urbanissimus, sed & omnium gravissimus & severissimus & esset & videretur. Quin etiam Platoni & Socratis nihil magis convenire aut decuisse visum est, quām rebus interdum severissimis intermistus atque inspersus lepos. Hæc ego viris doctis & intelligentibus quin & supra & nunc denuò satis probaverim, non dubito. Te interim non reprehendo, qui *mollior*, inquis, *debuit esse transitus à naso ad supercilium*: nam digitorum Pontiæ credo adhuc meministi, quām iste transitus abs tuo naso ad supercilia minimè mollis fuerit. Fœlicem te quidem, si hoc tum mulierculæ persuassis: sed de oratorum transitionibus, More, judicium longè aliud faciendum est. *At leges scribo*, hoc quintum crimen est, *quibus se teneat non populus modò, sed illi etiam qui me præceptore nihil egent*. Quid tu mihi quo quis egeat, homo levissime & arrogantissime? téne *superiore ex loco* egent Fœderati Ordines concionatore, me ex inferiore, quod omnibus ex æquo civibus licet, nostri non tam egeant libero hortatore? non est, More, cur ego me natum in mea patria tam inutilem existimem, cùm te in aliena tam arrogantem videam; non est,

late colleague in the censorship." And a little after he says—that, "of all orators, it was the fortune of Crassus alone not only to be, but also to appear, at once the most charming and witty, the most impressive and severe." And it was the opinion of Plato and the Socratic Philosophers, that there was nothing more appropriate, more suitable to decorum, than the intermixture—the sprinklings of wit on the gravest subjects. That I have before made these things plain, and now once again, to men of learning and intelligence, I cannot doubt: nevertheless, I blame not you for observing, that "the transition from the nose to the brow ought to have been more gentle": for you have not yet forgotten, I ween, the fingers of Pontia, and how little gentleness there was in her transition from your nose to your brows: indeed you would have been a happy man, could you then have persuaded that frail woman of the truth of this observation of yours; but a very different sort of judgment, More, is necessary, with respect to the transition of orators!

Again, "I prescribe rules," (and this is my fifth crime) not only for the people, but for those who have no need of me for a preceptor." Most trifling and arrogant man! and do you presume to inform me, of whom any one may stand in need? Do the United States stand in need of you for a speechifier, "from a higher place," and shall not our own people stand in need of me so much as for a voluntary adviser, from a lower place—an office which belongs of right to every citizen? When I observe you to assume so much in a foreign country, is it possible I should think myself of no utility in

quam ob rem te mercede concionantem, quām me gratis monentem rectiora putem posse suadere. Hæc mea quinque sunt peccata mortifera; nam illa septem, opinor, conficere nequisti. Ex quo intelligitur, inania quām fuerint quæ *cons*
5 *donāsse* mihi te dicis, cùm sint tam levia, quæ criminis. Nisi & illud fortè criminosum mihi vis esse, quòd Deum testem invocarim; & certè parùm abest ut istud quoque in criminibus meis numeres. *Hinc illa*, inquis, *nimiùm sanè sollicita protestatio*. Quænam ista fuit, More? audies vel invit
10 tus; nec illam nunc recito, sed iisdem conceptis verbis (neque enim pœnitet, & hic etiam peregrinationem meam calumniaris) rursus Deum testem invoco, me illis omnibus in locis, ubi tam multa licent, ab omni flagitio ac probro integrum atque intactum vixisse, illud perpetuò cogitantem, si homi
15 num latere oculos possem, Dei certè non posse. Hæc tibi *nimiùm sollicita protestatio* est, More: cui non magis sollicitum est, Deum testem invocare, quām invocatum pejerare. Quām multi & quām multis de rebus te accusent, non ignoras: aude modò, siquid in te integri, siquid incorrupti est,
20 iisdem quibus ego nunc prævi tibi verbis, te ipsum defendere. Dic age in hæc verba: Deum testem invoco me ab omnibus illis flagitiis quorum insimulor, integrum atque intactum

my own? Is there any reason why you, a preacher for hire, should be able to advise better than I, who deliver gratuitous, and as I trust, sounder admonitions? These are my five deadly sins: for to make seven of them I think was not in your power.

5 From charges so trifling, we may collect, how perfectly frivolous those offences must have been, which you say you have "pardoned" in me.

But perhaps you will have it to be criminal, that I called God to witness; and certainly, there wanted little of your reckoning even that also in the number of my crimes: for "hence (you remark) that really too anxious protestation." And what protestation was that, More? You shall hear, though you desire nothing less: nor shall it now be a mere recitation, but, as I feel no shame for what I have done, and 15 as you here calumniate even my travelling, I again call God to witness, in the very words I first used, that in all those places where so much licence is given, I lived free and untouched of all defilement and profligate behaviour; having it ever in my thought, that if I could escape the eyes of men, I certainly 20 could not escape the eyes of God. This is your "too anxious protestation," More; who have as little anxiety about calling God to witness, as, when called upon, to forswear him. You are not ignorant by what numbers you are accused, and of offences how various! If you have any honesty, if you have 25 any purity in you, dare only to defend yourself, in those same words in which I have now set you an example. Pronounce according to these words—I call God to witness, that I have always lived innocent and untouched of all those flagitious

semper vixisse; me neque Claudiæ, neque Pontiæ, neque ullius omnino fœminæ stupratorem esse aut adulterum. Non audebis, opinor, tametsi facilè perjurus esse diceris, in hæc verba præeuntem me sequi. Verùm si Dei non audes, hominum 5 saltem fidem implora. Genevam, inquam, redi, permitte te illic magistratibus & populo; dic illis ut castum & innocentem hominem, falsò insimulatum, deceat: Viri Genevenses; multorum apud vos & gravissimorum criminum accusor; si ita vixi, si inter vos ita versatus sum, ut hæc per idoneos testes 10 & argumenta probari vobis possint, en sisto me; legitimum pati judicium, quod antea recusavi, nunc non recuso. Hoc multo minùs audebis, sat scio: malis tergiversari, ut supra dixi, malis aliunde perfugia & latebras & diverticula veterani scor- 15 tatoris in modum quærere. Veruntamen *honestam* fuisse illam *orationem* meam fateris; sed *præcedenti parùm consentientem*. Cuinam præcedenti obsecro? vellem recitasses: ego enim aliquot retrò paginis pro certo habeo, ne minimum quidem obscoeni vestigium inveniri posse, quia tanto inter- 20 vallo de te nulla fit mentio. Quòd siquem alium locum intel- ligis, ubi in tua vitia salsa animadversum est, velim te scire, quicquid tu ex *Platone* detorsisti, neque alienum esse neque inverecundum eodem in libro cum acrimonia & sale (*profli-*

crimes with which I have been charged; that I have neither committed whoredom nor adultery with Claudia, nor Pontia, nor with any other woman whatsoever. Though you are said to pay little regard to an oath, you will not have the courage,

5 I think, to follow me in these words. But if you dare not implore the faith of God, at least implore the faith of men. Return, I say, to Geneva; there surrender yourself to the magistrates, and to the people; say to them, as becomes a chaste and innocent man falsely accused: People of Geneva, I am accused

10 by you of many and weighty crimes: if it shall be made appear by proper witnesses and proofs, that I have thus lived, that I have thus demeaned myself among you, here I am, prepared to undergo that just sentence, which I have before evaded! That you will never have courage enough to do this, I know

15 well. You had rather, as I have said before, have recourse to subterfuge; like an old fornicator as you are, you had rather skulk, and shift, and seek refuge from other quarters. However, you allow it to have been an "honest declaration" of mine, though "little in unison with the preceding one."

20 With what preceding one, I beseech you? I could wish you to be more particular; for I am very sure, that, a few pages back, not the slightest trace of obscenity is to be found, since in that short interval, no mention is made of you. And if you mean any other place, where there are some pungent animad-

25 versions upon your vices, I would have you to know, in spite of your distorted quotation from "Plato," that to reprobate with severity and with wit, what is scandalous, and at the same time "to think of God," even in the same book, (for you

gati enim *pudoris* verba nusquam illic reperies) & turpia insectari, & de *Deo cogitare*. Sanè si oratoris præceptum hoc verum atque honestum est, In eodem vultu convenire & pudorem & acrimoniam, quidni itidem in eodem ore conveni-
5 ant? Nullius enim prudentis pudorem minuit vehemens & salsa turpitudinis exprobratio vel etiam irrisio, sed pudorem, in quo prius non erat, impudenti reo nulla res efficacius incutere videtur. Tu vide ut cum pudore & *cogitatione Dei* tua stare perpetua possint mendacia, Ecclesiastes adulterine; qui
10 scripsisse me aīs *Rome martyrii fuisse candidatum; structas ab Jesuitis vitæ meæ insidias*. Ad quod utrumque mendacium diluendum opus est nihil aliud, nisi ut quis locum ipsum libri inspiciat: & cur ea de re aliquid omnino scripserim, conjecturā per se assequi nemo facilè non poterit, cui id modò cre-
15 dibile non sit eum *ob flagitia in Italiam profugisse*, qui religi-
onis ibidem confitendæ periculum toties adierit. Nugaris deinde multa; & *machæras* & *legiones* garris, Pontiæ ma-
stigia. Verùm hæc satis risimus: nunc luculentam & insignem
20 hominis calumniam quæso attendite; ut cognoscatis qua fide
vel in sacris etiam literis, quas cum summa Ecclesiæ ignominia profitetur, versari soleat; quām nulla isti falsario Ecclesiastæ

will never find there the expressions of “profligate modesty,”) is neither immodest nor foreign to the purpose. If, indeed, this maxim of the orator be just and commendable, that modesty and severity are compatible in the same countenance,

5 why, in like manner, should they not be compatible, in the same mouth? The modesty of no modest person is impaired by a vehement and galling reprobation, or even by the derision of turpitude; but there is nothing which seems so effectually to crush the growth of all modesty in one who had it not before,

10 as impudence in a culprit. I would have you take care, preacher adulterate! that your eternal lying be compatible with modesty, and “with thinking of God,” when you could affirm me to have written that, “at Rome I was a candidate for martyrdom; that the Jesuits laid a plot for my life!” To dissipate

15 both of which lies, it is only necessary to examine the passage itself in the book; and, the reason why I wrote anything at all on that subject may be easily conjectured by anyone, provided only he does not think it credible, that the man who so often incurred danger in Italy by the confession of his faith, “was

20 obliged to fly thither by reason of his debaucheries.”

After this, you have a good deal of trash on a variety of topics: though flogged as a slave by Pontia, you yet presume to prate about “swords and legions.” But these things have already afforded us sufficient merriment. Attend now, I intreat, to a brave and notable slander, that ye may learn what sort of faith he has even in sacred learning, which to the heavy disgrace of the church he professes; that ye may learn, how little scruple has this falsifying preacher to corrupt, should

religio sit verbum ipsum Dei sacrosanctum corrumpere, si id
commodum sibi fore crediderit. Ego ut refellerem eos, qui
Grammatistæ aut Critico Magni titulum & cognomen largiri
ineptissimè solent, sic scripseram: *Is solus magnus est appellandus*, qui res magnas aut gerit aut docet, aut dignè scribit.
5 *Quis hac verissimâ sententiâ offendatur, nisi Grammatista?* *Quid hîc noster professor?* id est, inquit, qui res magnas docet,
ut Miltonus de divortiis, aut dignè scribit, *ut Miltonus idem pro Populo, bis magnus.* Lepidum sanè interpretamentum,
10 Morel & ejusdem planè artificii, quo Evangelii etiam locum
illum de divortiis non verbo, sed factis interpretatus es.
Licet ob scortationem dimittere vel uxorem vel sponsam:
Morus cum despontata sibi Pontia scortatus est; ergo, licet
Moro sponsam ob scortationem dimittere. *Vos O tot Prin-15 cipes, tot proceres, tot Ecclesiae, tot Academiæ, quæ hunc hominem fovetis & ornatis, vel optatis & exambitis, evocate nunc certatim hunc vobis, quâ sacrarum, quâ profanarum literarum interpretem tam fidum & religiosum; ut sacras profanare literas apud vos quâ factis, quâ commen-20 tis suis possit.* Vel si id minimè vultis, nam Doctorem hunc

he think it for his advantage, even the sanctity of God's word itself. With a view to undeceive those who are in the habit of bestowing, however absurdly, the title and surname of great upon a grammarian or critic, I had written thus: He alone

5 deserves the appellation of great, who either achieves great things himself or teaches how they may be achieved, or who describes with suitable dignity the great achievements of others. Who, but a grammarian, could be offended with a sentiment thus founded in truth? What says our professor to this?

10 That is, he remarks, who teaches great things "like Milton on the subject of divorce"; or who describes them with suitable dignity, "like the same Milton, in his defence of the people; and he is here doubly great." A shrewd interpretation, More, no doubt, and evidently of a piece with your interpretation of

15 that passage of the gospel concerning divorce, which was given, however, not in words but in deeds. It is lawful to dismiss either a wife, or a betrothed mistress, for fornication; More fornicated with Pontia, who was betrothed to him; therefore, it is lawful for More to dismiss a betrothed mistress for

20 fornication! Come, now, "O ye number of princely personages, ye many nobles, churches, colleges, which either honour this man by espousing his cause, or caress him by your good wishes!" manifest an eager contention in your invitations of one who is so faithful, so religious an interpreter, whether of

25 sacred or of profane learning—who would be able to make even sacred learning profane among you, by his actions as well as by his glosses. Or, if ye have no sort of inclination for this, as ye seem to have long since caught the scent of this gloz-

commentitium longè latèque olfecisse jamdiu videmini, date
saltem & concedite hoc palpum tumoris hominis & glo-
riolæ: evocate quæso per literas quæm honorificas Ludio-
nem hunc cathedralium; sed cum hac cautione, si salvi
5 esse vultis, clam interposita, cum hoc urbanissimo interdicto,
ut nullo modo accedat. Miros profectò reddet ludos inter tot
Cathedras, dum professions & prælectiones & murmura &
plausus & Pontias novas sibi somniat. Sed dimitto nunc ho-
minem, quia me prope dimittit. Aliò se vertit; imò verò
10 quò se vertat, non habet. Simulat velle nunc de vita & mori-
bus suis causam pro se dicere. Exordiri jam putares homi-
nem, & velle aliquid præfari; cùm in ipso statim præfationis
vestibulo, elusâ omnium expectatione perorat. Tam tenue sc
esse argumentum, tam turpe etiam dum reperit, vel ipsâ
15 rerum inopiâ subitò exarescit, vel ipsâ foeditate perculsus &
quasi syderatus obmutescit: Vultus, vox, latera deficere viden-
tur; animus tamen veterarius, & ut dixi antea, indurati
utroque jamdiu foro veteris & crebri sontis artes non deficiunt.
Quò me vertam? quò te vertas, miselle? quis unquam nocens
20 reus demissâ barbâ sordidatus & squalens tam miserabili
procœmio deprecatus unquam judices est? quò te, si innocens,
si insons, si tutus undique tibi esses, quò te, inquam, nisi ad

ing doctor from all quarters, give and grant, at least this gentle fomentation to the puffed-up tumour of a man—invite, I beseech you, this chaired actor by your very honorable letters; but, if ye would be safe, with the secret caution, with the most
5 polite proviso, that he should at no rate accept the invitation. Amidst so many professorial chairs, in his dreamy expectations of professorships, and prelections, and murmurs, and applauses, and new Pontias, he will make his plays truly admirable!

10 But I now dismiss the man, because he practically dismisses me. He turns himself to another topic; in truth, he knows not “which way to turn himself.” He pretends that he is now desirous of pleading his own cause, relative to his life and manners. You would even think him on the point of beginning,
15 and that he was preparing to present us with some prefatory matter; when lo! at the very entrance of his preface, to the utter disappointment of everybody, he concludes. Finding himself so miserably poor a subject, nay, so very vile, he suddenly falls off either from mere want of something to say,
20 or, smitten and as it were, planet-struck with its very baseness, he becomes dumb. His countenance, voice, body, seem all to desert him; but, as I have said before, his inveterate spirit, the artifices of an old and frequent offender, hardened by long practice in every species of chicanery, abide with him still.
25 “Whither can I turn me?” Whither can you turn, you pitiful fellow? What squalid and guilty prisoner, with lengthened beard and matted hair, ever besought his judges in so wretched an exordium? Whither can you turn yourself? If innocent, if guiltless, if safe on all sides—whither, I ask, should you

te verteres? tecum loquerere, te consuleres, extra te ne quærereres? Sed heu miserum te! discordia tibi tecum gravissima jamdiu est. Nihil tibi invisum magis, quam tecum habitare, apud te esse; neminem libentiūs, quam te ipsum fugis. Frustrâ: tecum enim fugis miser, te sequeris: Quod agitat intus est, intus & flagellum & tortor Argus ille tuus, qui te semper non *Junoniis*, quod quereris, *artibus*, sed piaculorum tuorum Oestro agitatum, cinctus mille oculis ac testibus persequitur. Quid nunc agas? nam æstuantem te miserè & pendentem video. An *tuas ipse laudes vesanus decantares?* vesanus projectò sis, si id suscipias; vesanus, si id unquam cogitabas. *Vitamne conscribas & facinora omnia tua?* pervellem equidem; sed vereor ne non *Morus*, sed *Florus* nimiùm in tuis floralibus, id est, multo brevior quam par esset, futurus sis. Vereor ne invideas nobis tot lepidas fabellas, qui unam solùm *retexere*, hortensem nimirum illam, tantopere gravatus sis. Sanè qui illas lites Junonias omnes, qui illa jurgia Salmasii prætermiseris, qui prælium illud nobile Pontianum mihi tantis rebus parùm idoneo reliqueris, qui denique totam illam Pontiæ Sestiada sicco pede præterieris, præteribis opinor

turn, but to yourself? You should commune with yourself, you should consult yourself, and beyond yourself you should look for nothing. But alas! wretch that you are! you have long been at dreadful variance with yourself! To you, nothing is
5 more intolerable than to be, to dwell with yourself; nor is there any one, more than yourself, from whom you would more willingly fly. But in vain: for, miscreant, it is yourself with whom you must fly; it is yourself who must follow. What raises such commotion within is, that within is a whip,
10 and that Argus tormentor of yours, who with his thousand eyes, his thousand witnesses, follows you ever, not, as you complain, with "Junonian artifices," but to disquiet you with the maddening gad-fly of your heinous crimes! What would you do now? for I see you disturbed and pondering as if
15 in distress. Would you be "so mad as to chant your own praises?" You would be mad indeed, if you undertook to do this: mad, if you had ever a thought of such a thing. "Would you write your own life, with an account of all your great actions?" Most earnestly I would wish it; but I am afraid you
20 would turn out to be Florus instead of Morus—too much in your flowers; that is, far more brief than would be proper. I am afraid you would grudge us so many choice stories, when you were so much oppressed with "unravelling" only one—I mean the garden-story. Indeed, you who could pass over all
25 those Junonian quarrels, those brawls with Salmasius; who could leave to me, who am little suited to transactions of such grandeur, that renowned battle with Pontia; in fine, who could pass over untouched, that whole Sestiad of Pontia—

silentio Tibaltianam quoque illam, & illius nuper domus calamitatem, ubi tu procax in ancillam, proditor in herum extitisti: nam ancillis, ut videtur, quocunque vadis, nullum abs te refugium est. Tacebitur & vidua illa, quam tu, solatii 5 tum plenus, nunc inops, cùm de marito recèns mortuo velle consolari præ te ferebas, ejus pudicitiam tentasse diceris: Nec dices credo quâ domo egredientem te cum scorto intempestâ nocte Amsterodami illa mulier vidi; quæ delinita primùm pollicitationibus tuis, mox decepta, novissimè nomen tuum 10 ad Presbyteros detulit; qui tuum nomen recipere, quod ob priora facinora ejiciendum ex suo ordine & circumscribendum statuebant, ne aucto scelere, cùm augeri pœna tua non posset, augeretur ordinis infamia, recusarunt. Quid ergo? *an quæ fecisses uno cum servo itinera nocturna illa nempe Hagâ Leidam posteris narrares?* ne hoc quidem, sat scio, voles: verùm illa servus ipse passim copiosè narrat, & permulta alia præclarè abs te gesta: cætera jam tritissima plurimisque per ea loca testibus confirmata. Age verò; post dubitationem sanè miseram 15 quæ te perplexum tamdiu atque suspensum tenuit, post tui 20 fugam, quò tandem fugis? quò ad extremum te recipis? *fidei,*

will, I suspect, pass over in silence, that Tibaltiana also, and the late misfortune of that house, where you proved yourself a wanton to the maid, and a traitor to the master: for it seems, that wherever you go, the maids can never escape you. No 5 mention will be made likewise of that widow, whose chastity you are said to have attempted, under the pretence of consoling her for the recent loss of her husband: for, though now so poor, you were then rich in consolation. Nor will you say a word, I think, of the house at Amsterdam, from which, at an 10 unseasonable hour of the night, you were seen to go out with a strumpet, by a woman, who deceived by the promises by which you at first cajoled her, has very recently complained of you to the presbyters. The presbyters having before resolved to cashier you for former offences, lest, by augmenting your 15 crimes, when there could be no augmentation of punishment, you should bring still further disgrace upon their order, refused to receive your name. What would you relate next? Would you leave to posterity a narrative of those nocturnal "journeys you took with one servant," namely, from the 20 Hague to Leyden? That you would not do this, I am quite sure: besides, a copious narrative of those journeys, as of many others of your splendid exploits, has been already scattered everywhere by the servant himself: the rest are now grown very trite, having been confirmed by a host of witnesses, 25 throughout those parts. But come; after the truly miserable state of suspense by which you have been so long perplexed; after your flight from yourself; whither did you fly at last? Whither did you betake yourself? "We may consult (you

inquis, *publicæ monumenta consulamus*. Acta tua credo jam publica, quæ in Bibliotheca Genevensium enumerata centum prope articulis, tuorum scelerum monumenta posteritati servantur. *A Geneva exorsus*, inquis, *fabellam nescio quam 5 poetarum auctoritate subnixam instituis*. Ferax tu quidem sæculum poetarum dicis, qui tot una in urbe, tibique omnes infestos queraris; nigrum te aliquem oportet esse, ipsoque moro nigriorem, quem tot poetæ oderint; festivum quoque hominem, qui quorum auctoritas testium te jugulavit, eorum 10 nunc poeticam iniquiorem in te causeris. Verum ista te festivitas nihil in hoc tempore adjuvabit. Permulti sunt in illa civitate viri honestissimi, nonnulli Presbyteri, Doctores, Ministri, nescio an Poetæ, qui fabellam tibi hanc in foro agere cupiunt; qui non sua carmina recitare, sed tua crimina pro testimonio 15 dicere parati jampridem sunt. Nemo sic unquam poetam recitantem, ut tu hos omnes contra te testantes & fugisti & fugies. Adeóne verò singulari impudentiâ occaluisti, ut institutam in te legitimè accusationem testatissimam, cuius vim atque auctoritatem cùm sustinere non posses, discedendi, & 20 veluti in exilium abeundi licentiam exorâsti, hanc tu quasi *fabellam nescio quam* eludere & uno verbo leviculo sic amo-

say) the monuments of the public faith." Your acts, I apprehend, are already public, being laid up for posterity, to the amount of nearly a hundred articles, in the library at Geneva, as the monuments of your crimes. "Beginning (you say) from 5 Geneva, you trump up a story, of I know not what, founded on the authority of poets." You speak of a truly fertile breed of poets, when you complain of there being so many in one city, and that they are all your enemies! You must be a black scoundrel, blacker even than the mulberry, to have incurred the 10 hatred of so many poets! You must be a sweet fellow, when you can now charge with hostility towards you, the poetry of those, whose authority as witnesses has stabbed you to the heart. But that sweetness of yours will help you but little on the present occasion. There are very many persons in that city, 15 of characters the most respectable, some of them presbyters, doctors, ministers, and for ought I know, poets, who are desirous of bringing this story of yours to an examination in a court of justice; who have been long since prepared, not to recite their own verses, but to declare in evidence your crimes.

20 Who ever fled in this manner from a poet reciting, as you have fled, and will fly from all these testifying against you? And are you hardened in such matchless impudence, as to think, that when an accusation, attested beyond example, has been legally brought against you, which bore so hard upon you, 25 that you were unable to sustain its pressure, but petitioned for leave to depart, and as it were, to banish yourself—as to think you can elude this, as "a tale of I know not what," and by a single insignificant expression, to cast it utterly from you?

liri abs te posse existimes? At *permulti sunt*, inquis, *in hoc Belgio*, *qui me Genevæ familiariter usi optimè omnium norunt quām non ibi nullo in pretio fuerim*. Audi igitur quæ sint honestissimorum hominum de te judicia primò Genevæ, 5 deinde in Belgio. Duorum verba ipsa ex literis desumpta, in medium proferam.

Litere Genevâ datae pridiè Id. Octobr. 1654.

Mirari certè nostrates satis non possunt, ita te interiora ignoti aliàs hominis nosse, tam nativis coloribus depinxisse, ut 10 ne ab illis quidem, quibus familiarissimè usus est, tota hominis histrionia vel certiùs vel feliciùs potuisset adumbrari: unde hærent meritò & ego cum illis, quâ fronte $\alpha\nu\alpha\sigma\chi\nu\tau\sigma\tau\sigma$ licet homo & oris improbi, in publicum rursus theatrum prodire sit ausurus. Illud enim summum fœlicitatis tuæ hac in parte 15 compendium, quod non vel facta vel ignota aliàs hominis scelera attuleris, sed quæ omnium & amicissimorum etiam ore decantata, integri cœtus authoritate & assensu, immo plurium adhuc scelerum accessione luculenter possint corroborari.

20 Et infra. Credas velim vix ullum hîc reperiri amplius, ubi multos annos publico munere, sed cum summo hujus Eccle-

But, say you, “There are very many persons in this Holland, who knew me intimately at Geneva, and who are the best judges whether I was a person of no estimation there.” Listen, then, to the judgments of men of the highest character, concerning you, first at Geneva, afterwards in Holland. Of two of these persons I will produce the very words as they were taken from their letters.

Letter, dated Geneva, Oct. 14, 1654.

“Certainly, our friends and countrymen cannot sufficiently admire how you could be thus acquainted with the inmost parts of a man, otherwise unknown, how you could have drawn him thus in his native colours, that not even his most familiar friends could have portrayed the endless actings of the man with greater truth or happiness! They are therefore naturally at a loss to conceive, and I among the rest, with what front, though a man devoid of shame, and of an audacious character, he could presume to come forward again on the theatre of the public! And what constitutes the acme of your felicity in this respect, is, that you have not adduced such crimes of the man as are either forged or otherwise unknown, but such as, by the authority and consent of the whole congregation, have been talked of over and over again, by all his most intimate friends: nay, the evidence may be clearly reinforced by the addition of many other disgraceful actions.”

And farther on: “I would wish to convince you, that in the place where he, for many years, did public duty, though to the highest disgrace of this church, there is scarcely anyone

siæ dedecore functus est, qui prostituti pudoris homini patrocinium suum vel audeat vel sustineat amplius commodare.

Hæ sunt eorum voces, qui penitissimè te nôrunt: quam turpem tui memoriam Genevæ reliqueris, hæ literæ, aliæque
 5 benè multæ si proferrentur, docerent. Nunc in Belgio aliisque locis quâ famâ sis, *quo in pretio cognosce*. Viri probatissimi tibique noti non literas solùm, sed quoniam abs te priùs nominatus, idque in tua causa, atque laudatus est, nomen quoque edam. Is est vir gravissimus Joannes Duræus; qui dum Ottoni
 10 solâ fide nixus interponit se, mecumque agit, ut innocentem te scilicet missum facerem, non potest non fateri simul quâ longè alia de te cæterorum pænè omnium existimatio, aliisque sermo sit.

Ex Literis Duræi Basileâ, Octob. 3. 1654.

15 Quod ad Mori vitia improbitatémque attinet, non videtur Ottonus ita de eo sentire: scio tamen alios pessimè de eo loqui, manus ejus in omnes penè, manus omnium in eum esse, plerosque etiam Gallicæ Synodi ministros dare operam ut ei Pastoris munus abrogetur. Neque hîc aliam Basileæ reperio
 20 de eo hominum opinionem, quâ quæ in Belgio est eorum qui eum minimè amant.

left, who is bold enough, or who can endure any longer to extend his patronage to a man who has thus prostituted his reputation."

Such are the testimonies of those who know you thoroughly. This letter, with many others if produced, may serve to show, how scandalous is the memory you have left behind you at Geneva! Learn next what sort of fame you possess, "of what estimation" you are in Holland and in other places. I will produce a letter from a person of unquestionable probity, and well known to yourself; and as he was first mentioned by you, in your own cause, and likewise commended by you, I will even give his name. This is the very grave personage, John Durær, who, while influenced by the single credit of Otto, interferes, endeavouring to prevail upon me to acknowledge your innocence and let you escape; though at the same time he could not deny that the general opinion and report concerning you were widely different.

Extract of a letter of Durær, Basel, Oct. 3, 1654.

"As to the vices and licentious conduct of More, Otto seems to have a different opinion of him. I am aware, however, that others speak of him in the most opprobrious terms; that his hand is almost against every man, and every man's hand against him; that most of the ministers even of the synod of France are endeavouring to cashier him from the office of pastor. And I cannot say that I find people's opinion of him here at Basel different from that entertained in Holland by those who are the least attached to him."

O pulchrum elogium! quo tu omnium penè mortalium
judicio Ismaeli hosti Ecclesiæ, quām Ministro pacis & Evan-
gelii similior judicaris. Hunc tuæ ubique gentium existima-
tionis testem integerrimum, si potes, rejice. Mihi creduli-
5 tatem desine objectare: *Nemo omnes, neminem omnes fecerunt*, tua tibi verba regero. Hæc cùm ita sint, perficiam haud
multo negotio, ut intelligas, quām exiguum tibi in aliis præ-
sidium sit, cùm tam exiguum tibi in teipso fuerit. Quod enim
potest aliena fides testimonium de te aliis perhibere, cùm tua
10 fides perhibere nullum quod juvet aut cui confidas, de temet-
ipso possit tibi? Et videte quæso quām dissoluto animo,
quam abjecto desertor sui & perfuga ad patrocinium alienæ
fidei ab se transfugiat. *Neque vero, inquit, tempus teram in*
corum sollicita refutatione, quacunque tu garris. Laudo te
15 læti animi atque jucundi, nihil tu magis sollicitè, quām solli-
citudinem ipsam vitas. Mea modò *nimir sollicita* tibi fuit ad
Deum *protestatio*: nunc tuam non minùs *sollicitam* putas
tuorum criminum *refutationem*. Atqui ego si duntaxat *garrio*,
haud multam sanè sollicitudinem tua refutatio desiderabit.
20 Ignavissimus profectò sis, aut malè conscius necesse est, cui
tam facilis tuimetipsius defensio, tam gravis & *sollicita* videa-

O rare eulogy! in which, by the general sentiments of mankind, you are judged to be liker far to Ishmael, that enemy of the church, than to a minister of peace and of the gospel! Set aside if you can, this uncorrupt witness of your estimation

5 among all nations—charge me no more with credulity. “The man never existed who could deceive all mankind; and all mankind could never deceive any one”: I send you back your own words. This being the case, I shall have no great difficulty in convincing you, as you have found so little protection from yourself, how little you have to expect from others: for what must be the nature of that testimony which extraneous faith can give to others concerning you, when your own faith can give you none even of yourself which can be of any use to you, or on which you can rely? Mark, readers, I

10 beseech you, how, with his mind all unhinged, abject, a deserter and fugitive from himself, he flies for protection to the faith of others! “Prate on what you will (says he) I shall not waste my time in an anxious refutation of it.” I applaud your cheerfulness and good humour, but there is nothing

15 which you more anxiously shun than the anxiety itself. It is not long since, that my “protestation” to God was too anxious for you: now you consider as no less “anxious” your own “refutation” of your own crimes. And yet, if I merely “prate,” your refutation will in reality require no great anxiety. In-

20 deed, you must be the most indolent of men, or you must have a guilty conscience, if the defence of yourself, which is so easy a matter, appears to you so weighty and “anxious”: you must be a mere driveller, and deserve to be laughed to scorn, if you

25

tur: ineptus planè & ridendus, qui nullum tempus inutiliùs terere te putas, quàm in eo ipso quod ad rem, siquid vides, & ad causam maximè pertineat. Nam *quid proficiam*, inquis, *si fabulam hanc penitùs retexuero? statim aliam ordieris.*

5 Sanè quidem difficile id esset nemini: neque de nihilo te urit ista suspicio. Tanta enim tu solus fabularum sylva es, ut ex tuis unius rebus gestis atque nequitiis suppeditare centum triviis atque circulis unde multos in dies rideant satis fabularum unus possis. Atque adeo hujus fabulæ actum jam quartum peregrimus: exit Morus; aliam credo vult personam induere. *Ut semel*, inquit, *defungamur, quod fuerit Ecclesiae Genevensis, quod civitatis illius de me judicium hæ docebunt literæ Testimoniales, aliâ occasione datae.* Ita est; ad elogia nunc transit sua; actus quintus incipit: nova planè persona,

10 15 sed eodem tamen subtùs latente Moro, prodit cornicula, sed & ea quoque personata: miris nescio quot repente plumis adscititiis atque coloribus ita indutus, ut Phœnicopterus nescio quis potiùs, & exornati quiddam monstri simile videatur. Aves Aristophanicas expoliasse hominem dices; sed malâ

20 ave, ni fallor; cum se non jam fabulam agere, sed apogorum

think you can spend no time with less utility, than that employed on the very thing, which you must see (if you can see anything) is directly to the point, and has the closest connection with the cause under consideration. Now, “where 5 (you ask) would be the utility to me if I should unravel this tale from beginning to end? you would instantly begin another.” It is true, that would be no difficult task for any one; nor is it for nothing, that you have so burning a sense of this suspicion: for you contain within yourself, so large a stock of 10 tales, that from your own exploits and amours alone, you may furnish enough for many days merriment to a hundred knots and companies of people. And so we are come to the end of the fourth act of this tale: exit Morus.

He means to appear, I suspect, in a new character. “To 15 settle this business (says he) once for all, these letters testimonial, which were given on another occasion, will show what opinion was entertained of me by the church and by the city of Geneva.” My conjecture was right; he is now proceeding to his own eulogy—the fifth act begins; evidently a new 20 character, though the same More lurks underneath: it is the daw comes forward, though also under the disguise of an actor. I cannot describe the marvellous variety of borrowed plumes and colours, with which he is suddenly bedecked; you would be inclined to think him some bird of phœnix-wing— 25 some representation of a monster gaudily dressed. You would declare the man had plucked the birds of Aristophanes; but, if I am not mistaken, they must have been birds of ill-omen: when he is stripped, he will find that he is not now acting a

Æsopicum in se verum demonstrare nudatus intelliget. Cùm enim hasce plumas nec tuas esse, More, & partim obsoletas, quæque suâ sponte mox defluant, partim falsis coloribus fucatas, partim dolo, malisque artibus surreptas docuero, 5 dubium non est, quin delusus abs te olim grex avium, nunc factus certior qui sis, de repetundis plumis jure tecum sit acturus; & ablato quisque suo, obscœnam sub phœnice upupam non deplumem te modò, sed depygem demum relinquat. Primæ omnium *literæ Genevensium Testimoniales* cristam 10 tibi erigunt: quas illi multò mallent, sat scio, aut nunquam tibi datas, qualis postea evasisti, aut abs te nunquam prolatas. Semper ego quidem de Genevensi Civitate, pro eo ac debo, honesta omnia & sentire soleo & loqui: religionis cultum purioris, primùmque studium, in Republica deinde prudenter, 15 æqualitatem, moderationem, constantiam propè admiror; quâ se tam arctis finibus, inter vicinos hinc inde potentissimos & imminentes, summâ in pace ac libertate per tot jam annos conservat & tuetur: rectiusque in re vix mediocri & melius id agit quod civilis vitæ omnis principium atque 20 finis est, idque populo suo fœlicius præstat, quâm summis

play, but showing the application of one of *Æsop's* fables in his own person: for when I shall make it appear, More, that these plumes are not your own; that they are in part decayed, and such as would soon have fallen off of themselves, in part 5 tinged with false colours, and that they were stolen, in part by craft and wicked arts—it is not to be doubted, that the flight of birds before decoyed by you, having at last discovered who you are, will enter an action against you for the embezzlement of their plumes; and that, when each has taken his own, 10 you will be left in the end no *phœnix* indeed, but a fowl-feeding hoopoe, with not a single plume, and barely a breech.

First of all, the “Letters Testimonial of the Genevese” cause you to erect your crest—letters, which, as I am well informed, the Genevese since you have turned out such a miscreant, 15 repent either that they were ever given you, or that you have ever produced them. Now I am in the constant habit, as becomes me, both of thinking and of speaking highly of the city of Geneva. I admire, first, its worship and study of a purer religion; and my admiration of the republic is scarcely less 20 high for her prudence, equality, moderation, constancy; by which virtues, though cooped up within bounds so narrow, surrounded on all sides by powerful and vigilant neighbours, she has preserved herself—has guarded her liberty, during so many years, in profound peace! And this, which is the origin 25 and end of all civil society, she performs for her people with more propriety, skill, and prosperity, though with finances barely tolerable, than the most potent kings can do for their subjects, though possessed of immense treasures, and assisted,

opibus instructi, summis opinione hominum adjuti consiliis reges maximi servientibus præstant suis. De Genevensibus igitur, quod eorum laudem & existimationem possit immi-
nuere, non est ut quicquam velim aut queam dicere, etiamsi
5 de his literis Testimonialibus ea dicerem, quæ & ab aliis dicta olim ipsi fatentur, & ad me recentiùs allata sunt. Sed necesse non est; non dicam igitur quâ occasione sint datæ; propterea quod ipse non hâc, sed *aliâ occasione* datas esse ait. Non quæ-
ram, utrùm summa Ecclesiæ Senatúsque voluntas honora-
10 rium hoc Moro testimonium suâ sponte concesserit, an impu-
dentissima hominis postulatio, cùm accusatus gravissimorum criminum nequisset se defendere, ab iis duntaxat abstulerit qui Ecclesiæ Pastorúmque communi existimationi perperam metuentes, amandare ab se hominem quoquo modo malebant,
15 quâm hæc publico judicio severiùs perquiri, nec sine offensa fortassis infirmiorum palam agitari. Non dicam, id quod multi tamen dicunt mihi que confirmant, nec conventu fre-
quenti, nec solito conveniendi die datas hasce literas: ne id quidem dicam scribenti adstitisse Morum; unde illud fortasse
20 *tralatitium*, & *exambire* ex elegantiis Mori selectioribus tam in promptu erant; & *rupta concionante* Moro *subsellia*, *gem-
mæque illæ clarissimæ*; quæ omnia usque eo vel cupiditatem scribentis vel judicium non grave significant, ut non solùm

as is commonly supposed, by the wisest counsels! Of the Genevese, therefore, I would or can have nothing to say, which can lessen their glory or consideration, though I should say of these Letters Testimonial what they themselves confess

5 had been before said by others, and which has been lately communicated to me; but it is unnecessary. I will not say then on what occasion they were given, because More himself declares it was not on this, but on "another occasion." I will not inquire, whether the supreme will of the church and of the

10 senate granted spontaneously this honorary testimony to More, or whether, when under accusation of weighty crimes, from which he was unable to defend himself, his own impudent request simply got it from those, who in their serious apprehensions for the general character of the church and of

15 ministers, preferred sending him off at any rate, to examining these matters to the bottom by the strictness of a public trial; especially, as a public discussion could not perhaps have taken place without scandal to the weaker brethren. I will not say, what is nevertheless told me and confirmed to me by

20 many, that these letters were given neither in a full assembly, nor on the customary day of assembling. I will not even say, that More stood by while they were written; whence, peradventure, the expression "chosen above others," and the expression, "caressed," were so promptly supplied, from the

25 choicer elegancies of More; as likewise, "the broken benches, and those brightest gems, while More was preaching"; the whole of which together shows so forcibly either the partiality or the feeble judgment of the writer, that, from his

nimio laudandi studio laudes ipsas corrupisse, quod vitium ab eo qui totius nomine Ecclesiæ scripsit, quam maximè abesse debuit, sed indignissimum ornare dum studet, non tam vivum decorare, quām mortuum & putentem illis odoribus differ-
5 tum funerasse videatur. Non dicam denique illa nomina in conventu subscripta non esse, circum vicos cursasse Morum, & pastores domi singulos adortum, quo sibi faciliùs hasce subscriptiones expugnaret; Propterea quòd erant in conventu qui reclamare, qui intercedere, qui obsistere non desinebant,
10 qui sese non audiri graviter conquesti sunt. Nihil horum dicam; quod nonnulli tamen dicunt, etiam qui illo tempore Genevæ rebus illis omnibus interfuere; multi aliis in locis *De cùm hominumque fidem implorantes atque jurati nullâ se simultate, sed officii religione commotos, hæc dicere; adeoque*
15 illis literis fidem se adjungere non posse; quorum inter primos virum sanctissimum Fredericum Spanhemium, Theologiæ professorem & pastorem reverendum fuisse intelligo: Hoc solùm dico, hasce literas, quod idem de literis reverendissimi viri Joannis Deodati est dicendum, ante sexennium datas,
20 multis postea maleficiis ab ipso Moro oblitteratas jampridem esse & antiquatas. Nondum increbuerat Claudia, nondum hortus, & illa, ad Claudiam nescio an cum Claudia, Mori suavissima cohortatio:

excessive eagerness to praise, he seems not only to have corrupted the praise itself—a fault which should have been avoided with the utmost care by one who was writing in the name of the whole church—but from his solicitude to adorn

5 an object so unworthy, appears less to decorate a living person, than to entomb a putrid corpse, stuffed with aromatics. Finally, I will not say that those names were not subscribed in the assembly; that More hustled about the town, attacking each pastor singly at his own house, that with the less difficulty he

10 may win their subscriptions by storm: for there were persons in the assembly who ceased not to exclaim against them, to interpose, to resist, who grievously complained they were not listened to. I will say nothing of all these things, though they are said by some who were at Geneva at the very time, and

15 present while those transactions took place; though they are said by many, in other places, who declare, “by the faith of gods and men,” that they are influenced by no “private enmity,” but solely by their “official” duty; and hence, that it was not possible for them to contribute anything to the

20 credit of those letters. Among the foremost of these persons, I find, was the pious and venerable Frederick Spanheim, professor of theology, and a reverend divine. The only thing I myself say, is, that these letters, which were given six years ago, like those of Deodati, have been long since rendered ob-

25 solete and antiquated by the many subsequent misdemeanors of More himself. Neither Claudia, nor the garden, was yet known to fame; nor likewise, More's most delectable comforting, whether of Claudia or with Claudia, I cannot decide:

—*Poma alba ferebat,
Qui post nigra tulit Morus:*—

Id quod viris proculdubio integerrimis & honestissimis, harum literarum subscriptoribus, quin imposuerit non dubito. At postquam illa cum muliere, primò ancilla, deinde nupta, occultari diutiùs consuetudo istius nefaria non potuit, factus iterum reus, cùm honestam rationem defendendi sui nullam inveniret, & manifestis in rebus teneretur, fractus jam animo, atque id maximè veritus, si judicium fieret, nequid in se gravius consuleretur, quo ipso die pronuncianda de se sententia Presbyterorum, deinde Magistratum erat, judicium declinat, licentiam abeundi petit. Illi necessitatem hanc rati se hoc modo effugisse, quam impositam sibi minimè volebant, ut Ecclesiæ Ministrum tantorum scelerum damnare, & in homine Ecclesiastico tam triste exemplum statuere cogarentur, libenter assensere. Petit insuper literas impudentissimus homo commendatitias. Id verò postulare ab judicibus suis reum indignè ferentes, prorsùs recusant: ita bonus ille tabellarius permanere sine literis illa in urbe, omni munere exutus, circiter decem menses coactus est: Etesiis credo sacrificans, ut aliquam saltem auram commendatitiam impetrare aliquò posset: Donec multi gravissimi viri ne moram quidem ejus

Now fruit all black, the conscious Morus bore,
Which purer white had ever borne before:

a circumstance which I cannot doubt must have imposed upon those indisputably just and honorable men, who were the 5 subscribers to those letters. But after his shameless connection with that woman (who at first was a servant, and afterwards a married woman) could be concealed no longer; having no honest means of defending himself from this further charge, as the facts were notorious; fearing above all, if the examination 10 should proceed, that some more serious consultation should take place in his disfavour; now crest-fallen, on the very day when the sentence of the presbyters, and afterwards of the magistrates, was to be pronounced upon him, he declines the trial, and petitions for leave to withdraw. The ministers, thinking they should in this way avoid the ungrateful necessity imposed upon them, of condemning a minister of the church of such enormities, and of being obliged to exhibit to the world so melancholy an example in a man of the clerical character, freely give their consent. But the man has more- 15 over the effrontery to ask for a letter of recommendation; which, indignant that a culprit should presume to make such a request of his judges, they flatly refuse; and so this honest letter-carrier, stript of every office, was forced to remain about ten months in the same city, sacrificing, I ween, to the Etesiæ 20 —those gentle winds of the north, vernal and bland, that he might obtain from another quarter at least, some commendatory gale; till, at length, a number of grave personages, un-

illa in urbe ferendam rati, rursus rem adducere in judicium cœperunt. Id autem cùm ad novas lites, &, ut supra dixi, offensionem infirmorum spectare videretur, consultius tandem visum est, quoquo modo hominem ablegare: rursus ita
5 que dant literas; *non frigidulas*, quod antea dixisse me queritur, sed, quod nunc dico, frigidissimas; non ut commendare cuiquam mortalium, sed amandare ab se hominem planè viderentur. Hoc si ita non est, More, postulo mihi respondeas, cur superiores illas Genevensium literas, haud
10 uno nomine jam obsoletas, quæque recentiora facinora tua à me tibi potissimum objecta, ne attingunt quidem; quæ ego vix attigi, ut minùs mihi comperta, *blasphemias nempe tuas in Spiritum sanctum*, aliáque opinionum monstra uberiùs commemorant, cur & illas in quibus parùm sibi de te credi à
15 plerisque subscriptores tui queruntur, cur, inquam, illas utrasque in medium protuleris, has novissimas de medio removaris? Cedo proximas hasce literas post alteram in te accusacionem illam gravissimam ab aliis ægerrimè, ab aliis facile, sed eodem tui removendi animo ab omnibus concessas. Sapies,
20 opinor, non exhibebis; non delectant te istæ literæ: ex quibus mutatam de te Genevensium opinionem, refrigerata amicissimorum studia manifestò perspicere possimus; eösque his

able to bear this lingering of his in the city, began a second time to prepare his case for trial. Still, as this proceeding might look as if it had reference to a new case, and, as I said before, might give scandal to the weak, it seemed at last more 5 advisable to adopt some expedient for sending him out of the way. With this view, they again grant a letter, not "rather cold," as he complains I before affirmed it to be, but, as I now affirm, freezing cold; evidently less calculated to recommend any mortal, than to send him packing about his business. If 10 this be not the truth, More, pray tell me the reason, why they do not even touch upon that former letter of the Genevese, now grown obsolete on more accounts than one; upon those new adventures of yours with which I have chiefly reproached you; dwelling principally upon topics which I have barely 15 mentioned, as having been less investigated by me—I mean "your blasphemies against the holy spirit," and other monstrous opinions; why also should you produce the letter which, as your subscribers themselves complain, contains little about you that is credited by people in general; why, I say, should 20 you exhibit for public inspection both of these letters, and keep out of sight this new letter? Show me, since this other heavy charge against you, this last letter, granted by some with the greatest reluctance, by others with readiness, but by all with the same intention—that of sending you off. You will show 25 your wisdom, I think, and keep it close. That letter is by no means one of the most delectable to you. We may plainly see in it the altered opinion of the Genevese, the cooled affection of your dearest friends; and that, so far from having any in-

literis non te laudatum, sed ab se, dummodo longissimè remotum, quasvis in terras exportatum cupiisse. Hæc Mori fides publica est; quâ se in Ecclesiam credere, quâm in Spiritum Sanctum planius facit. Quæ reliqua à me dicta in eum 5 sunt neque diluit, neque refellit, ne oppugnat quidem. Sed quoniam, Vlacco fidejussore, tomum insuper alterum fidei publicæ promittit, in quo *virorum aliquot insignium, Senatusque & Ecclesiæ Midelburgensis, & Amstelodamensis* 10 *testimonia* dicentur, dum volumen illud, cùdendum, puto, in Gallia, excudendum Hagæ-Comitis à Vlacco expectamus, aut ne expectamus quidem, visum est de toto hoc genere testimoniorum pauca disserere.

Magnum ego ornamentum quidem virtutis testimonium publicum esse fateor; argumentum perinde certum atque fir- 15 mum longè abest ut existimem; nam ut illud omittam quòd virtutis multo difficilior quâm nummorum spectatio est, hoc sanè constat, privatorum privatos mores, & præsertim vitia ad aures gravissimas, tot alioqui negotiis occupatas, rarissimè perferri. Et testimonium publicum tam qui petunt, quâm 20 qui dant, boni juxta malique ferè sunt; & petunt quidem mali sæpiùs quâm boni, falsâ specie proborum induti. Ut quisque

tention of commanding you by these letters, they only wished to remove you to the greatest possible distance—to transport you to some foreign country, they cared not whither.

Such is the public faith of More; by which it evidently appears, that he believes in the church, rather than in the holy spirit. The rest of what I have said against him, he neither dilutes nor refutes; he does not even oppose it. But since, on the authority of Vlaccus, his voucher, he promises yet another *tome* of the public faith, in which will be brought forward 10 “the testimonies of some persons of note, together with those of the senate and church of Middelburg, as likewise of Amsterdam”—while we are waiting for, or rather that we may not wait for this volume, which will be fabricated, I suspect, in France, and printed by Vlaccus at the Hague, it may be 15 worth while to say a few words of the nature of such testimonies in general.

I acknowledge that the testimony of the public is indeed a great ornament to virtue; but I must yet think that it is very far from being any certain and solid proof; for, not to mention that the assaying of virtue is a far more difficult matter than the assaying of coin, it is manifest, that the private manners of private men, and especially their vices, are very rarely brought to the gravest ears, which are occupied in attending to so many and different concerns. Besides, those who seek and 25 those who grant the public testimony are alike the good and bad without distinction; nay, the bad, putting on a counterfeit appearance of honest men, seek it more frequently than the good. In proportion as any one is excellent, does he stand

optimus est, ita minimè testimonio eget alieno: neque enim
facit quicquam vir bonus ut noscatur, seipso contentus. Si
commendato est opus, virtutem semper apud se habet com-
mendatricem optimam; si defenso, obtrectationibus nimirum
5 & calumniis haud raro appetitus, eandem circundat sibi inte-
gritatem suam & invictam rectè factorum conscientiam; quo
veluti munimento atque præsidio firmissimo, improborum
hominum & impetus vanos excipit, & tela frustratur. Contrà
hic noster omnia: non enim virtutem, sed opinionem dun-
10 taxat ejus integumentum vitiorum, sibi comparaverat: ut
reiectus, ut deprehensus, abscondere diutiùs improbitatem
suam non potest, exors ipse fidei & naufragus ad alienam
fidem se confert: quorum oculis antea servierat, eorum nunc
manus commendatitias implorat; & singulari quadam atque
15 inauditâ hactenus impudentiâ, quorum judicium experiri non
audet, eorum postulat testimonium. Propterea quòd meâmet
ipsius sententiâ damnatus turpissimè discedo, quòd sententias
vestras horreo atque defugio, *literas* quæso date innocentia, *pietatis*, *pudicitia* apud vos meæ *testimoniales*. Si hæsatur,
20 si ambigitur, si ab aliis denique reclamatur indignitate rei
vehementissimè commotis, quòd non demittit se? quòd non
descendit? circumcursare, ambire, prensare, obtestari, & quòd
adire non audet, eò amicorum allegationes dimittere. Agun-
tur fortunæ hominis, agitur caput, existimatio, immò Eccle-

less in need of extrinsic testimony: for, a good man, satisfied with himself, does nothing in order that it might be known. If he wants commendation, he has virtue ever with him for his best commander; if he wants defence, and it is no uncommon thing for him to be assailed by slander and envious abuse, he entrenches himself in his own integrity, and in the impregnable consciousness of righteous deeds; where, as within a rampart and strong fortress, he receives the vain assaults, and frustrates the darts of unprincipled men. How different is the conduct of this our adversary! He has provided himself not with virtue, but with opinion only, as a cloak for his vices: so that when once uncovered, once entrapped, he can hide his wickedness no longer; and being himself destitute, shipwrecked of faith, he flies for shelter to the faith of others.

Those, of whose eyes he before had stood in slavish awe, he now intreats to use their hands in his commendation. By some strange, and yet unheard of impudence, he requires the testimony of those, whose judgment he dares not abide. Because I basely withdraw, condemned by my own sentence; because I fly with horror from your sentences: pray grant me "Letters Testimonial" of my innocence, piety, and modesty, while among you. If there be any demur, any doubt, in short, if others, shocked at the thing, exclaim against it with vehemence—how low does he stoop! to what a pitch does he degrade himself! He goes round canvassing, he intreats, conjures, and where he dares not appear himself, thither he sends a deputation of his friends. The fortunes of the man are at stake; his liberty, his character are in danger; nay the charac-

siæ totius & sacri ordinis existimatio agitur. Expugnantur
multi, partim fatigati, partim inducti, partim veriti nequid
istius ignominiæ in publicum redundaret, partim delictis
ignoscere, literato parcere, laboranti consulere suæ bonitatis
5 esse arbitrati. Ita tandem victor iste laureatas literas aufert;
ita emendicata quovis tempore vel occasione, non jam testi-
monia de se publica, quæ si fuissent ipse abolevit, sed sua de
publico reportata spolia ad coronam venditat; nec tam laudes
videtur suas, quæm poenitentiam publicam circumferre. Quem
10 enim non poeniteat præconem sese laudum ejus fuisse, qui ad
omnes postea libidines tam turpem sui auctionem fecerit:
nunc ejusdem sese mangonem fieri, qui servus omnium ne-
quissimus ministrum se licitanti cuivis Ecclesiæ ex hac laudum
catasta vendibiliorem, & sacrarum literarum miseris empto-
15 ribus venalem se pretii quantivis professorem profitetur. Nam
viderint per Deum immortalem, qui ex istius vel commen-
datione vel impunitate ignoscentes & bonos haberi se postu-
lant, ne ista bonitas in malum desinat; viderint ne ipsis bonis
fraudi sit. Cùm necesse sit, serpat latiùs, serpat ocyùs ista

ter of the whole church—of the sacred order itself. Many are gained over, in part wearied out, in part persuaded, in part fearing lest some portion of the ignominy should overflow upon the general body, in part thinking it incumbent on their
5 benevolence to pardon offences, to spare a man of letters, to consider his labouring condition. And so at last he bears off in triumph his laureate letters, and sets to sale those public testimonies of himself; obtained no matter when or wherefore, by supplications of beggarly meanness, and which, if they could
10 ever be considered as testimonies, he has himself since rendered null, and which therefore are now to be regarded rather as spoils which he has taken from the public. Thus he appears as the hawker of the public repentance, instead of his own praises. And who would not repent of having been the
15 barker of the praises of one, who in addition to all his libidinous dealings, has made so shameful an auction of himself? Who would not repent of having now become the slave-seller of a man who, himself the vilest of slaves, openly offers himself (as the more marketable from this slave-cage of praises)
20 for a minister of the church to any one's bidding, and for a venal professor, at the highest price, to the contemptible purchasers of sacred learning? Now it behoves those persons who, either from the commendation or from the impunity of this man, claim to be considered so good and forgiving, to see,
25 by the help of the immortal God, that this goodness of theirs does not end in evil. It behoves them to see that it prove not a fraud upon the good themselves: for this infection, proceeding from the pastor and the doctor, must necessarily creep the

contagio pastoris in gregem, Doctoris in scholam; atque in
ipsos fortasse bonorum istorum liberos, qui sophistæ huic erra-
bundo & infami in disciplinam traduntur. Viderint ne tot
pigmentis illita atque ornata turpitudo, tantâ bonarum lau-
5 dum jacturâ atque dispendio dealbata labes, spem faciat &
aliis, eâmque mentem injiciat, posse se quoque tutissimo hoc
exemplo, eandem scholis, eandem Ecclesiis inferre personam,
sine suo periculo cum summa etiam commendatione impro-
bissimam. Cogitent, qui celari adversarios nostras maculas
10 putant oportere, non celando sed eluendo maculas purgari:
celando apparere multo manifestius, & majorem indies foeditatem
contrahere. Postremò viderint, ne Ecclesiastas hujus-
modi amovere ab Ecclesia tamdiu negligant, donec ipsa Ec-
clesia cum Ecclesiastis unâ amoveatur. Sanè cùm Apostoli
15 præceptum de Episcopo notissimum sit, eum ab extraneis
etiam bonum habere testimonium oportere, quid adversariis
lætius aut triumphandum magis potest accidere, quâm cùm
legerint atque audierint, qui non levi atque incertâ, sed con-
stante famâ, summéque consentiente, multis testibus, multis
20 in locis flagitosus atque nefarius compertus sit, eum quasi
Ecclesiæ lumen unicum & ornamentum collatitiis Presbyte-

farther and the faster respectively over the flock and over the school; and as it may happen, over the very children of those good persons, who are entrusted for instruction to this vagabond and infamous sophist. It behoves them to see, that base-
5 ness, bedaubed and bedecked with paint of such divers col-
ours, that a stain, whitened over with such a parade and expence of fine praises, does not elicit in others the hope, and induce the persuasion, that they also, grounding themselves on the singular safety of this example, may succeed, without peril to
10 themselves, nay, with the highest applause, in bringing into the schools and into the churches, characters of like aban-
doned principles. Those who think it concerns us to conceal our stains from adversaries, should consider, that stains are not got rid of by being hidden, but by being washed out; that
15 they only become the more visible, that they daily contract fresh foulness, from attempts to hide them. In fine, it behoves them to see, that they neglect not so long to remove from the church preachers of this cast, that the church itself, preachers and all, be not removed together. Indeed, as the precept of
20 the apostle concerning the bishop is so very marked, that he ought to have a fair report even among foreigners — what could give greater delight, or be a cause of greater triumph to adversaries, than for them to read and hear, that the man, who, by a report in no wise vague or doubtful, but constant,
25 and singularly consistent, by a host of witnesses, in many dif-
ferent places, has been found to be a person of a flagitious and scandalous life—that such a man is decorated, as the great luminary and ornament of the church, with the collective

rorum laudibus, & multiplici commendatione publicâ decorari. Quod hostibus nostris gaudium ne diuturnum sit, provideri non aliâ ratione potest, nisi si quis poterit exemplo, râque ipsâ demonstrare nullum esse pestibus hujusmodi in 5 Ecclesia reformata consistendi locum: hæc testimonia, has laudes tum olim datas, cùm is, cui dabantur longè alias affec-taret videri, atque esse nunc perspicitur, ipsum nunc irritas & nequaquam suas usurpasse sibi fraude pessimâ; & amicorum de se elogia suo ipsius vitio abrogata, non ad vilissimas merces 10 involvendas, quo fato mala scripta solent ferè perire, sed ad fœdissimas flagitiorum ipsius sordes integendas, pro involu-crîs abusum esse. Ego certè in priore illa defensione, & publicè jussus & privatim læsus, nisi siquam dicendo peperissem mihi honestam existimationem, eam silendo amittere, & 15 quasi vacuam possessore, occupandam mendaciis & oppri-mendam relinquere maluissem, & patriæ, & mihi simul, cùm una eadémque causa esset, communem operam summo studio impendi. Nunc accusatus graviter ab eodem quasi immeri-tum & innoxium hominem per calumnias & mendacia in- 20 famassem, ut impudentiam illius redarguerem, innocentiam tuerer meam, & siquid vel antea jam dixi commodè, vel in posterum quod ex usu sit dicturus sum, si non doctrinæ &

praises of the presbyters, and with public, and various commendation. The only way of providing that this exultation of our enemies be not of long continuance, is, to demonstrate by an example, by a positive fact, that, in the reformed church,

5 there is no room for any such pests; that these testimonies and praises, procured by himself and with the basest artifice, were given at a time, when the man to whom they were given, affected to be a far different personage from what he is now discovered to be, and that hence they are become insignificant,

10 and anybody's praises and testimonies rather than his own; that even the eulogies bestowed upon him by his own friends, rendered vain by his own profligacy, have been degraded not indeed into wrappers for paltry commodities (the fate of most worthless writings) but into coverings for the foulest mire of

15 his own debaucheries.

It is true, that, in that former defence, to which I was called by a public order and by private injury, as it was the cause of my country as well as my own, I performed the common task with zealous diligence: and who will say I ought to have

20 chosen rather to lose, by silence, the honest reputation I might have gained by speaking, and to leave it, as it were, without a possessor, to be invaded and oppressed by lies? And being now under a heavy accusation, by the same person, of having defamed forsooth by scandal and falsehood, an innocent and

25 unoffending man; that I might confound his impudence, and vindicate my own innocence; and further, (if I have hitherto written anything well, or shall hereafter write what may be of utility) that I may be able to obtain, if not the praise of

ingenii laudem, famam saltem integrām, & colendāē veritatis fidem afferre possem, ad contentionem hanc per se minimē gratam, sed necessariam tamen, denuo descendī. Neque verō est, si hæc non essent, cur hujus operæ aut pœnitere me, aut 5 pigere quenquam alium, nisi consciūm sibimet, debeat. Sanè improbos vituperare, & bonos laudare, quandoquidem hoc præmii nobilissimi, illud pœnæ gravissimæ rationem habet, & æquè justum & justitiaz propè summa est: quin & ad vitam benè instituendam par ferè momentum utriusque cernimus.

10 Ita denique cognatæ inter se hæc duæ res sunt, unóque & eodem opere absolvuntur, ut improborum vituperatio, proborum dici laudatio quodammodo possit. Verūm ut jus & ratio atque usus utrobique par sit, non itidem est par gratia: nam qui alterum vituperat, duarum is uno tempore gravissimarum rerum onus 15 atque invidiam sustinet, & accusandi alterum, & de se benè sentiendi. Itaque laudant facilè nunc boni, nunc mali dignos juxta atque indignos; accusare nemo liberè atque intrepidè, nisi solus integer, vel audet vel potest. Nos qui adolescentes tot sub magistris exudare in umbra eloquentiam solemus,

20 vīmque ejus demonstrativam in vituperatione haud minūs, quām in laude arbitramur esse positam, tyrannorum antiqua

learning and of genius, at least a fame untainted by dishonour, with the credit of being an adorer of truth—I have stooped again to this contention, necessary indeed, though in itself most ungrateful. Nor, if these inducements were wanting, 5 should I myself have any reason to repent of this undertaking; nor would anyone else, unless conscious of guilt, have any cause for sorrow. Indeed, as the reproof of the bad is meant as a most serious punishment, so is the commendation of the good intended as the noblest reward; it is not merely just—it 10 goes near to the perfection of justice: we may add, that, in the just regulation of life, we see they are both almost of equal efficacy. In effect, these two things are so closely allied, that they are accomplished by one and the same act: for when we blame the bad, we may be considered, in some sort, as praising 15 the good. But that each may have its peculiar province, and reason, and use, they are not alike in point of favour; for, he who blames another, has to sustain at once the burden and the envy of two very serious things; namely, the burden of accusing another, and the envy which is the consequence of his having 20 a good opinion of himself. Hence it is, that both the good and the bad readily bestow praise, and with little distinction, upon the worthy and the unworthy; but no one, except the upright alone, openly and fearlessly either presumes, or has the authority to accuse. We, who as boys are accustomed 25 under so many masters to sweat in the shade at eloquence, and who are convinced that its persuasive power consists in censure no less than in applause, may, it is true, safely and valiantly batter the names of ancient tyrants: and as it happens,

nomina fortiter sanè ad pluteum concidimus. Et Mezentium,
si fors ferat, putidis rursum antithetis enecamus; aut Agrigen-
tinum Phalarim tristi enthymematum mugitu, quām in suo
tauro, exquisitiū torremus. In xysto nimirum aut in palæstrâ:
5 nam in Republica plerumque tales adoramus potiùs & coli-
mus, & potentissimos & maximos & augustissimos appellamus.
Atqui oportuit aut non in ludicro primam ferè ætatem umbra-
tiles consumpsisse, aut aliquando cùm patriæ, cùm Reipublicæ
est opus, relictis rudibus, in solem ac pulverem atque aciem
10 audere; aliquando veros lacertos contendere, vera arma vi-
brare, verum hostem petere. Parte aliâ Suffenos & Sophistas;
aliâ Pharisæos & Simones & Hymenæos & Alexandros, veteres
quidem illos, multo mucrone insectamur: hodiernos & in Ec-
clesia redivivos collatis elogiis laudamus, professionibus & sti-
15 pendisi & cathedris, incomparabiles videlicet & doctissimos
& sanctissimos viros, ornamus. Ad censuram si fortè ventum
est, sicui fortè persona & speciosa pellis detrahitur, si turpis
introrsum, immò verò si palam atque apertè facinorosus argu-
it, sunt qui hunc malint, nescio quo studio, quóve metu
20 adducti, testimoniis publicè defensum, quām animadversione
debitâ notatum. Mea ab his, fateor, quod aliquoties res ipsa

we kill Mezentius over again in stale antitheses; or, in the rueful bellowing of enthymemes, we roast, with a daintiness more exquisite than in his own bull, the Agrigentine Phalaris. I allude to those who were trained in the public walks and

5 schools of exercise: for such are the men, whom, in a republic, we most delight to honour and adore—such we fondly style most potent, and most magnificent, and most august! But yet, it was expected that those who thus spent a good part of their prime in mere pastime in the shade, should, at some

10 after period, when the country, when the republic stood in need of their services, throw aside their foils, and dare the sun, and the dust, and the field; that they should at last have the courage to use in their contests hands and arms of flesh and blood, to brandish real weapons, to encounter a real

15 enemy. We persecute, with no small hostility indeed, some, the Suffenuses and Sophists; some, the Pharisees, the Simons, the Hymenæuses, the Alexanders: for all these are ancients. But when we find them brought to life again, and appearing in the modern church, then we club our eulogies for them,

20 and honour them with stipends and professorial chairs, as patterns of all excellence, as prodigies of learning, as mirrors of sanctity. Should we ever go so far as to censure; should the mask and the fair outside happen to be torn away from one of this sort; should he prove to be foul within, nay plainly, mani-

25 festly villainous, there are yet not wanting those, who, (influenced by what consideration, by what fear, I know not) would rather choose for him to be defended by public testimonies, than branded with his merited reproof. My way of thinking

jam docuit, satis longè disjuncta ratio est: ut siquid adolescens in illo otio literarum vel præceptis doctorum vel meis lucubrationibus profeci, id omne ad usum vitæ generisque humani, siquid tam latè possem, pro infirma parte mea conferrem. Quod si etiam ex privatis nonnunquam inimiciis delicta publica animadverti & sæpè corrigi solent, & adversarium nunc non modò meum, sed penè omnium communem, hominem nefarium, reformatæ religionis & sacri maximè ordinis opprobrium, literatorum labem, juventutis perniciosissimum præceptorem, immundum in sacris Ecclesiasten, impulsus omnibus causis justissimâ vituperatione prosequutus sum, eo nécne cum fructu, quo oporteat, viderint illi, quorum potissimum interest exemplum in isto edere, me quidem spero (cur enim diffidam?) rem neque Deo ingratam, neque Ecclesiæ insalubrem, neque Reipublicæ inutilem præstitisce.

is, I confess, far enough removed from this, as I have shown by my conduct on more occasions than one. If, as a boy in the above mentioned recreations of learning, I have profited anything from the precepts of the learned, or from my own lucubrations, it is my purpose, as far as my infirmity will permit, and if I may hope to perform anything on so wide a field, to contribute the whole to increase the welfare of life and of human kind. And if, even from private enmities, public offences are sometimes reproved and often corrected; if impelled by every motive to inflict reproof so well deserved, upon an adversary now become not mine alone, but the common adversary almost of all men; upon a character outrageously scandalous, the disgrace of the reformed religion, and above all of the holy order, the blot of letters, the fatal preceptor of youth, the preacher impure in sacred things—whether I shall have done this with all that effect which it ought to have, it is their business to see, whom it most concerns to make an example of him. As for me, I have the hope (for why shall I have any mistrust?) that I have performed an office neither unacceptable to God, unsalutary to the church, nor without its utility to the commonwealth.

RESPONSIO
JOANNIS MILTONI ANGLI
AD
ALEXANDRI MORI
SUPPLEMENTUM

HANC ego Defensionem meam cùm ante duos menses hactenus parassem, ne consumptum fortè bienium alterum in se profligando clamitet Morus, tanto cum desiderio Supplementum illud Fidei publicæ contra 5 me promissum expectabam, ut nihil mihi longius videretur. Didiceram enim ex Vlacco perorante, recessisse quidem in Galliam Morum, non tamen quiescere: sed vel diffisum viribus Genevensium attritis, vel quòd manu tam exiguâ vix satis sibi instructus ad decernendum uno prælio videretur, novum 10 contra me exercitum, & quod mirandum sit, Medioburgiorum & Amsterodamensium in Gallia conscribere: Consules etiam & Scabinos magna cum manu signisque infestis adven- tare. Serò tandem erepsere novæ copiæ; sine quibus prima acies, opinor, labare atque dehiscere videbatur. Sed cur tam

THE ANSWER OF
JOHN MILTON ENGLISHMAN
TO
THE SUPPLEMENT OF
ALEXANDER MORE

THAT More may not unbraid me with having taken another two years to put him to the rout, I have had by me this my defence, now two months; and such was the longing desire with which I expected this supplement 5 to the *Public Faith*, that the time seemed an age to me. For I had learnt from Vlaccus's peroration, that, though More had retired into France, he was not yet quiet; but, either unable to place reliance upon the forces, which, by hard stripes he had levied upon the Genevese, or, thinking that with so small a 10 body, he was not sufficiently prepared to decide the contest by a single battle, that he was busy in raising by conscription, in France, a fresh army to be employed against me; and what may appear strange, from the inhabitants of Middelburg and of Amsterdam; and that consuls and even tiptaves were approaching with a mighty host, and the display of hostile banners. At last, though long in coming, these new-raised troops 15 stole in sight; and till they came up, the first array was seen, I suspect, to give ground, and to break. Now should any one

serò, cur ab extemporali homine tam tardè advenerint si quis miratur, erant scilicet literæ quædam mortuorum longo situ eruendæ; erant quoque subsidia hæc consularia tam gravis armaturæ, mirâ itinerum ratione *ex Gallia*, teste Vlacco,
5 *transmittenda*: Quid si etiam ibidem conficienda? quibus cùm ipse Vlaccus, homo æquissimus, ut habeatur fides non postulet, sed quod *æquum & justum cuique videbitur*, id ut *judicetur*, sic omnino faciamus. *Sufficit Vlacco*, Supplementi hujus collectitii Legato, Lectorum *curiositati* non incredulitati
10 *satisfecisse*: nempe fidei publicæ, ex Gallia in Hollandiam, quasi postliminio quodam reversæ, fidem defore uniuscujusque privatam, haud ab *re* sanè suspicabatur. Primùm hoc velim unicuique in mentem veniat, quod suprà demonstratum est, publica testimonia quâ ambitione ferè comparentur;
15 in *re* privata quid valeant; quàm sæpe hallucinentur: me deinde non facta crimina in Morum, non ignota, non obscura, sed vera, sed jam vulgata atque testata, in foro denique & judicio agitata haud semel, atque versata protulisse. Non

wonder at the late appearance of this last levy of letters; that they should advance so slowly under the conduct of a man of so ready a wit; be it known that there were certain letters of the dead to be dug up from the repositories where they had 5 been long at rest. Moreover, these consular reinforcements, with all their weight of armour, and with a laudable attention to the roads, were, according to Vlaccus's account, "to be sent from France." And what if even collected there? Since Vlaccus himself, that pattern of justice, does not require that any 10 credit should be given them, but "that every one should judge of them in the manner that may appear to him impartial and just": thus then let us act, by all means.

"It was enough for Vlaccus," the deputy-manager of this hodge-podge of a supplement, "to have satisfied the curiosity," 15 though not the unbelief of readers: for he had a suspicion, and not without reason indeed, that all private faith would be withheld from this public faith, returned, as from a sort of sojourning, from France into Holland. In the first place, I could wish every one to recall to his recollection, what has 20 been before pointed out, the importunate canvassing with which public testimonies are usually obtained; their true validity in private concerns; how often they are destitute of foundation; and last of all, that the charges I have brought forward against More are no fictitious charges, but such as are either 25 unknown, or imperfectly known, but such as are real, such as are already published and attested to the world; in short, such as have been publicly agitated and sifted more than once, in a court of justice. More, therefore, has no right to regard us

igitur calumniatores nos, non testes in se, sed suos esse judices intelligat Morus: id jure æquissimo; quoniam ipse in nos prior has partes sibi sumpsit; nos ipse prior judicavit; suam in nos sententiam iniquissimam edidit. Prolatis autem utrinque 5 testimoniiis cur secundùm eos meritò pronuntiemus, qui Morum gravissimè accusant, in causa est cùm ipsius comperta in nos audacia atque improbitas singularis, tum ipsius testimonii quamvis *publica*, tamen ambigua fides; quæ consuetis atque tritissimis laudandi formulis prosequitur Morum, objecta illi 10 crimina ab accusatoribus tam multis non diluit. Quid enim afferit vel hoc supplementum, More, quod ad rem pertineat? Accusabant te Genevæ gravissimi viri Theodorus Troncinus pastor & Theologiæ professor, duo alii pastores Mermilliodus & Pittetus multis opinor testibus adductis; accusabant multo- 15 rum criminum, & commissi præsertim in horto quodam proprii turpissimi. Tu hîc contrà literas producis Deodati senis; qui venire in conventum jamdiu desierat; nec quid ibi gerezetur, nisi ex te tuisque fautoribus audire consueverat: Literas deinde Sartorii, ne non sarsisse omni ex parte causam tuam 20 viderere; tum Gothofridi Jurisconsulti, ne non satis cavisse;

in the light of slanderers nor even as witnesses against him; he is to consider us as his own judges. And this is agreeable to the strictest equity: for this is the part which he first took upon him to act against us; he first sat in judgment upon us; he first

5 made public the most iniquitous sentence he had passed upon us. Now, the evidences having been produced on both sides, the reasons why we justly pronounce judgment according to the weighty allegations of More's accusers are, because More's insolence and unexampled injustice towards us have been

10 made manifest; because, the faith to be given to More's testimony of himself, though "public," is yet questionable; it being a faith which attends upon More, in the ordinary and thread-bare forms of commendation, but does not even extenuate the crimes alleged against him by so many accusers.

15 For what does even this supplement bring, that is at all to the purpose? You were accused at Geneva by the very grave personages Theodore Troncini, pastor, and professor of divinity, and by two other pastors, Mermillio and Pittet, who brought forward, as I think, no small number of witnesses; you were

20 accused of various crimes, and in particular, of a most scandalous act committed by you in a certain garden. To all this you oppose first a letter of Diodati, an old man, who had long been out of the habit of attending the assembly, and who usually heard of nothing that was transacted there, except

25 through you and your partisans. Next comes a letter of Sartorius, that you may not appear to have neglected the mending of any part of your cause: then the letter of Gothofrid the lawyer, lest you should be thought not to have entered a suffi-

has omnes literas jam ante scriptas, quām hæc tua flagitia vel ad Ecclesiam delata, vel amicis, ut solet, omnium ultimis, credibilia essent. Quæ igitur à me tibi objiciuntur, horum nihil negant. Fac autem disertis verbis negâsse: haudqua-
5 quam tamen istorum negatio affirmatione potior tot homi-
num probissimorum erit, quorum præsertim testium vim ac
veritatem cùm sustinere non posses, petitâ subitò abeundi
licentiâ, non absolutus judicio, sed elapsus, evasisti. Literis
deinde Genevensium non sine multorum gravi intercessione
10 atque etiam indignatione, ut supra dixi, concessis, tu quasi
Rheno amne lustratus, (quo *devectum te in Belgium* ais) &
noxâ omni ablutus, utcunque commendatus, mirum non erat
si, convocatâ illic fortè Synodo Gallo-Belgicâ, tanquam Mer-
curius quidam novus Gallo-Belgicus, non tu quidem illumina-
15 natus, sed combustus, ut fit, in Synodo, ad tempus latuisti.
Eas autem literas cùm suprà dixerim fore, ut in medium nullo
modo proferres, ne prioribus hîc positis quanto essent frigi-
diores perspiceremus, lepidè tu quidem *exemplar carum*
nancisci te non potuisse causaris. Quod autem dixi ad tempus,
20 non semper latuisse te, id facilè constat, primùm quòd in illa
ipsa Synodo *Trajecti* ad Mosam habita quòd primùm appulisti,

cient number of caveats; all of which letters were written before your flagitious conduct was complained of to the church, or thought credible by your friends, who, as usual, were the last to yield their belief. Whence, these letters deny not one item of the charges I have laid against you. But suppose they had expressly denied them; would this denial have outweighed the affirmation of such a host of honest men, the force and verity of whom as witnesses you being unable to bear, on a sudden put up a petition for leave to withdraw; and thus made your escape, slinking off, without any legal acquittal? Then, those letters of the Genevese having been obtained, as I said before, not without violent opposition and even indignation, it was not to be wondered at, that you, though purified, washed clean as it were from all guilt in the Rhine (on which river, you were conveyed, you say, into Holland)—it was not to be wondered at, I say, however much bepraised, that, when a Gallo-Belgic synod happened to be called there, you should become invisible for a time, like some Gallo-Belgic Mercury, though it turns out, that, though not rendered luminous, you were absolutely burnt up in the synod. But, as I before predicted would be the case, as you could at no rate produce those letters, lest we should discover their extreme coldness in comparison of those you before exhibited in the same place, you shrewdly plead in excuse, that, really, "you could not get a copy of them." Remember, my expression was, that you became invisible for a time, not that you were continually invisible; and this is sufficiently evident, first, because, in that very synod, held at the "passage" at Mosa,

rumores quosdam *contra doctrinam tuam & conversationem* illis in Regionibus jam esse *sparsos*, & suspiciones haud leves de te passim vel novas haberí, vel veteres recruduisse, neque ita te iis absolutum, quin ad alteram postea Synodum novâ rur-
sus commendatione opus tibi fuerit, declarat, quæ sequitur Ecclesiæ Medioburgenæ ad Campensem Synodum Epistola, declarat etiam illius Epistolæ subscriptor primarius Joannes Longus ejusdem Ecclesiæ pastor, qui tuâ tum quidem larvâ inter alios deceptus, perspectis nunc demum & exploratis moribus tuis, nunquam te nisi maximæ contumeliæ detesta-
tionisque causâ dicitur nominare. Immò verba ipsa tua de-
clarant quibus fateris post seditionem Midelburgi ortam, in qua amicus quidam tuus potentissimus dignitate excidit, eos qui post eum rerum potiti sunt, in te non *æquè propensâ fuisse*
voluntate: id tu eorum ignorantia assignatum vis, quibus tu Theologiæ professor celeberrimus *non æquè familiariter in- notuisses*; cùm ad suspectos jam mores tuos revera sit referendum. Quid enim ad te advenam seditio? qui suffragiis omnium publicè accersitus non studiis partium, sed bonâ famâ ac diligentia in isto munere Theologico tueri existimationem tuam notus *æquè omnibus* debebas. Hic tamen quereris quod ejectum te dixerim *ab Ecclesia illa*. Ego verò non *ejectum te*

where you first landed, it appears, from a subsequent letter from the church at Middelburg to the synod at Campen, that certain rumours "against your doctrine" and "conversation," were already spread in those parts; and that new suspicions 5 of no trifling nature were very generally entertained against you, or the old ones revived, from which, too, you were not so perfectly set free, but that you would stand in need of fresh commendation against a future synod. The same things are declared also by the principal subscriber to that letter, John 10 Long, the pastor of the said church, who, with many others, was at first deceived indeed, by the mask you wore, but having at last inquired into and seen your conduct in its true light, is said never to mention your name but in terms of the utmost reproach and detestation. It is even plain from your own 15 words: for you confess that, after the disturbance which took place at Middelburg, in which a certain friend of yours lost his high authority, the "good will" of those who after him had the chief sway "was less inclined towards you." This you could wish should be attributed to a want of knowledge 20 in such, to whom you, the celebrated professor of divinity, "might be less intimately known": whereas, it is to be really ascribed to your suspected morals. For what was the disturbance to you who were a stranger? And who, publicly called by the suffrages of all, should have been equally known 25 to all, and have supported your character not on the favour of a part, but on your own good name, and on your diligence in that theological function. Yet here you complain of my having said that you were "ejected from that church." Now I

dixi, sed tantummodo ablegatum; idque non de ipsa ejiciendi vel ablegandi formula, sed de voluntate eorum abs te jam alienata intellectum volui. In hoc non admodum errasse me testis esse potest vir, ut audio, probatissimus, quem suprà 5 appellavi, Joannes Longus ejusdem Ecclesiæ pastor, qui nunc, inquam, longè secus de te sentit & loquitur, atque primò sensit, cùm in tuam commendationem *omnium nomine* subscrīpsit; Testis est vir spectatissimus Joannes Duræus, qui non unam Ecclesiam Midelburgensem ejecisse te, sed universam penè 10 Synodum Gallo-Belgicam ejectum velle scribit. Frustra igitur Synodi Groudensis actum illud subjungis, quod factis recen-
tioribus irritum fecisti; frustra, inquam, actum illud quod apertissimi te mendacii coarguit: etenim illius Synodi autho-
ritatem idcirco adhibuisse te aīs, ut *sciam omnia ritè & so-*
15 *lemniter* in Synedrio Midelburgensi de te *acta*: ipsa Synodus non ritè, non solenniter hæc esse acta, sed *nonnullos defectus in modo agendi* notat. Vellem scire illos defectus cuiusmodi fuerint, cur tu Midelburgensium testimonia sine nonnullis defectibus in modo agendi auferre non potueris. Illud interea 20 tenendum memoriâ est, quibus cum *defectibus* Genevensium

said not that you were “ejected,” but simply that you were sent away; and this I meant should be understood, not in reference to any particular form of ejection or of sending away, but to their feelings, which were already alienated from you.

5 That I was not much mistaken in this point, I have an evidence, I find, in the person to whom I before appealed, John Long, a man of the strictest integrity, and the pastor of that church, and who, I affirm, now thinks and speaks of you very differently from what he had been accustomed to do, at the

10 time he subscribed, “in the name of all,” to your commendation. Another evidence is the most respected John Durær, who writes that you were ejected not by the church at Middelburg alone, but that your ejection was desired by nearly the whole Gallo-Belgic synod. It is to no purpose then that you

15 subjoin that act of the synod of Grouden, which you have nullified by your more recent misdeeds. It is to no purpose, I say, that you subjoin that act, which convicts you of a most bare-faced lie; for, by your account, you adduced the authority of that Synod, expressly, to let me know “that every thing”

20 which respected you “was conducted,” in the sitting at Middelburg, “in an orderly and solemn manner”: whereas, the synod itself records that this very business of yours was not conducted in an orderly and solemn manner, but “that there were some defects in the mode of acting.” Now I could wish

25 to know of what nature were those defects—why you could not bear off the testimonies of the Middelburgers, without some defects in the mode of acting? Meanwhile, it should not be forgotten, with what “defects” you obtained the testi-

testimonia adeptus sis: quanto reverà cum dedecore, quanto in speciem cum honore illi te dimiserint. Prorsus, quasi id unum sibi reliquum, necessariò decrevissent, laudandum te esse atque tollendum. Verùm, ut dixi, laudes illas qualescunq[ue]

5 perspecta postmodum & cognita vitæ tuæ turpitudo antiquavit jamdiu atque delevit: ut ad infamiam potiùs tuam hæc omnia conducere videantur, qui tam præclaram de te olim hominum opinionem, admissis in te postea tot probris, tam fœdè fefelleris. Ventum tandem ad Pontiam est; quam sic à

10 me falsò nominatam contendis. Ego verò authorem Batavum & notissimum illud de te distichon, quo me facilè defendam, recito:

*Galli ex concubitu gravidam te Pontia Mori,
Quis benè moratam morigerámque neget?*

15 Bontiam, fateor, aliud apud me manuscriptum habet. Sed prima utrobique litera, quæ sola variat, ejusdem ferè apud vos potestatis est. Alterum ego nomen ut notius, ut elegantius salvo jure Criticorum præposui. Satis de nomine; nunc rem ipsam consideremus. Quis tam est reus, quis tam omni genere
20 criminacionum oblitus, qui, si solus audiatur, causam suam vel Cassianis judicibus probare non queat? Tu quam attulisti

monies of the Genevese; with what apparent honour, and with what real disgrace, they dismissed you. Absolutely, the only alternative they had left, was to come to the decision, that you should be praised, and sent about your business. But, as I 5 have said, of whatever description those praises might have been, the turpitude of your life, since proved and made known, has long antiquated and abolished them: so that all these transactions would seem to conduce rather to your infamy: for your many subsequent enormities being admitted, 10 you have basely disappointed the high opinion which mankind once entertained of you.

At last, we are come to Pontia, whom you contend I have falsely thus named. I cite again, however, as an easy defence, the Dutch author, and that noted distich upon you:

15 As your belly, Pontia, 'gins to swell,
 From tread of the Gallican;
 That under More, you've been Mored well,
 Deny it not a man.

I confess that another manuscript, which I have by me, has 20 it Bontia. But the first letter, in both cases, which is the only one that varies, is, with you, nearly of the same power. I have preferred the other reading, as more known, and saving the authority of the critics, more elegant. Enough of the name; we would now direct our attention to the thing itself. Where 25 is there a criminal so black, so perfectly covered with crime, who, if heard alone, would not gain his suit, even before judges who decided by the Cassian law? The account which

hujus rei narrationem, ejusmodi est, ut nemo sit, modò integer atque attentus accedat, quin te, etiam inauditis accusatoribus tuis, vel planè condemnandum, vel suspicione gravissimâ non absolvendum arbitretur. *Uxorem* ais *Salmasii* *graviter tibi infensam, & ob eas rationes quas commemorare* non vis, *nihil intentatum reliquise, ut te in nassam infaustissimi matrimonii compingeret.* Primùm illud suspiciosissimum est quod celas; illud nempe arcanum quod tibi tam modesto homini & ministro uxorem amici sic inimicam *10* potuit reddere. Mirum deinde inimicitiae genus narras, quo impulsa uxor amici tui famulam sibi dilectissimam nuptum tibi dare cupiebat. Nassa autem illud matrimonium quî potuit dici? nisi túte eam vel sponsione aliquâ tibi induisses, vel escam avidè nimis appetisses, atque ita meritò infaustissimum, *15* quod stupro auspicatus eses, matrimonium reddidisses. *Nihil, inquis, intentatum reliquit.* Quid ergo inter alia tentaverit tu ipse nobis divinandum relinquis; immò ipse non taces, ipse effutire non erubescis; & illud suprà dictum à Crantzio, paulò *20* infra quasi palmarium quiddam pro te ex ore *Salmasii* repetis; *Siquid in Pontia peccavit Morus, ego sum leno, & uxor mea lena.* Hanc scilicet pulcherrimam fore defensionem tibi

you have given of this affair is such, that there is no one, provided only he brought along with him integrity and attention, who would not think you, even without hearing your accusers, either clearly deserving of condemnation, or open to

5 a most serious suspicion. You say, "That Salmasius's wife had great enmity against you; and that for reasons" you are unwilling "to mention, she left nothing untried to entangle you in the net of an ill-omened marriage." In the first place, the circumstance you conceal is a most suspicious one: for it was

10 this secret, it seems, which had the power to excite such enmity in the wife of your friend against you, though so modest a man, and a minister. Again, that enmity you speak of must be a very odd sort of enmity, under the impulse of which, your friend's wife was desirous of marrying you to a

15 favourite servant-girl. Still, how could that marriage be called a net? Unless, indeed, you cast it over yourself by some engagement; or unless you seized the bait too eagerly; in which case, as you would take your auspices from a rape, you would deservedly render it an ill-omened marriage. You say, "she

20 left nothing untried." Do you leave us to divine then the thing, which, with other things, she has actually tried? By no means; you do not conceal it; you yourself blush not to blab it! What has been said before by Crantz, you yourself repeat a little after from the mouth of Salmasius, as a reason for tri-

25 umph to you: "If More has been guilty of any improper conduct with Pontia, I myself am a pimp, and my wife a procuress." And so, then, you were so mad as to think, that it would be a most admirable defence for you before the world,

apud omnes amens credidisti, si ostendisses lenone Salmasio,
ejusque uxore lenâ, te non ignobile stuprum fecisse; & non
nisi dominis perductoribus ancillam vitiasse. *Hoc vulgo in-*
notuit; tu verò palam vehementissimeque reluctari. Euge
5 corculum pudoris, deliciæ castitatis! Túne reluctari verò?
virginali, ut videtur, verecundiâ homo nassâ muliebri indu-
tus. Nam piscis, nisi captus, non reluctatur: illa profectò
mulier nisi thunnum te perspexisset, nisi facilem, nisi oppor-
tunum, nisi obnoxium ancillæ suæ deprehendisset, nunquam
10 tibi istos laqueos ita elimasset, nunquam tibi Vulcanios illos
casses tua Juno tam facilè adaptasset; nunquam in virum gra-
vem, Ecclesiastem, doctum, celebrem, qui mariti domum inter
amicissimos frequentasset, nunquam nisi in mulierosum &
notæ incontinentiæ hominem tale quicquam moliri aut tentare
15 ausa esset. At, inquis, *cum factione quadam se conjunxit, quæ*
qualis fuerit, aperire tibi nolo. Ergo hoc etiam non minùs
suspitosum nobis relinquis, quòd tuâ multùm interfuit ape-
ruisse, quæ ista factio, quo in loco te tot Ecclesiarum, tot Syno-
dorum, tot Magistratum testimoniis ac sigillis loricatum
20 hominem & cataphractum tam acriter oppugnarit. Si ob vitæ
sanctimoniam, concionandi assiduitatem, professoriæ facul-

if, Salmasius being your pimp, and his wife your procuress, you should make it appear, that yours was no vulgar fornication; that if you debauched the maid, the master was your pander! "This became generally known"; though you 5 "openly and most earnestly struggled against it." Bravo, my little heart of modesty! Delight of chastity! You struggled against it? Yes, you struggled, it seems, with a truly virgin-modesty, being entangled in a woman's net: for no fish struggles, unless he is caught. If the lady had not seen you were a 10 tunny, if she had not found you might be easily managed, that you were exposed and in the power of her maid, she never would have laid that snare for you; your Juno would never have fitted so easily that Vulcan's net upon you; she never would have presumed to contrive or attempt such a thing 15 against a person of grave character, an ecclesiastic, a man of learning and celebrity, who had frequented her husband's house as one of his most intimate friends—she never would have done all this, unless to a man who was given to women, and notorious for his incontinence.—But (say you) "she 20 joined a certain faction, though of what description it was, I do not think proper to lay open to you." Now this is another circumstance no less suspicious, because it was of great consequence to you to have laid open what that faction was, in a place where it has opposed you so stoutly, armed as you are 25 cap-a-pie with the testimonies and signatures of so many churches, so many synods, so many magistrates. If it hated you for the sanctity of your life, your diligence in preaching, your eminence as a professor, nothing could have been so

tatis præstantiam te odio habuisset, nihil æquè tibi laudi ac defensioni esse potuit: nunc cùm in re omnium potissimum explicanda tectus atque astutus esse malueris, credendum est non factionem, sed benè magnum bonorum virorum numerum ob impuros mores tuos, vitamque offensam meritò te odisse. Deinde, si Midelburgi, si Amsterodami, ubi tanto in pretio atque honore apud omnes fuisse te prædicas, tam numerosa te factio adorta est, claudicare tua fides publica videatur; eosque demum esse factionem qui te tantopere laudarunt.

10 Sin Hagæ aut Lugduni primùm ista factio in te tam acriter est concitata, nihil profectò obstat quò minùs appareat deseruisse te tandiu & Pastoris & Professoris munus utrobique sacrum, ut Hagæ libellos famosos, ministerium tui Evangelii ministrares; Lugduni Pontiam ancillam, id est Nassam ipse

15 tuam sectarere; tuosque illos, post diurnum sæpe discessum, tot nocturnos ad eam vicina ex urbe reditus, tot cum ea furfivos, inscientibus dominis, congressus vicinitati notissimos, tantum in te odium plurimorum commovisse. Hos tu *admissarios* uxoris Salmasii vocas; & ignominiam defuncti amici

20 tui matronæ, ejusque propinquis non ferendam inuris. Hæc scilicet cum *Ruffino* & factione illâ, *horrenda criminacionum tonitrua disposit*, & totum insanis clamoribus *Belgium im-*

much to your honour, or have made so much for your defence; but as you choose rather to be close and crafty in a matter which, above all others, required explanation, there is reason to believe, that it was no faction which hated you, but that you

5 were deservedly loathsome to no small number of good men by reason of your corrupt manners and scandalous life. Again, if at Middelburg and Amsterdam, where, you pretend, you were so highly valued and honoured by all men, if you have been attacked by so numerous a faction, it seems that your

10 public faith begins to limp; and that, after all, those very persons constitute the faction, by whom you have been so mightily bepraised. But if that faction first rose against you with so much keenness at the Hague or at Leyden, it would appear, in fact, that you deserted, for so long a time, your offices of

15 pastor and professor, both of them sacred, that, as the ministry of your gospel, you might minister at the Hague notorious libels; and at Leyden, may follow your girl Pontia, that is, your net; and that it was your frequent departure by day, and as frequent return to her from the neighbouring city by night;

20 that it was these numberless stolen meetings, notorious to the neighbourhood, but without the knowledge of her master and mistress, which raised so great and so general an odium against you. These were the "paramours" (you say) of Salmasius's wife; and thus you brand with ignominy the matron of your

25 deceased friend,—an ignominy intolerable to his relations. These "horrible thunders of criminations she exploded," you must know in conjunction with "Ruffinus," and that faction, "and filled all Holland with her mad clamours." Do you go

plevit. I nunc, & à me conficta hæc esse clamita; dic meas has esse calumnias; quas ego non calumnias, sed criminaciones ab universo penè Belgio, te confitente, accepi. Has ego tacerem? his non crederem? próque tua in nos nostrámque Rempubli-

5 *cam injuriâ, scelere, audaciâ veras esse non judicarem? quam tu factionem, eam ego probissimorum hominum multitudinem, testimonium, judicium esse non arbitrer? Hoccine divinâ animadversione factum non putem, ut dum aliis famosos libellos tam diligenter adornares, famosus ipse passim*

10 *libellus fieres? Tu verò cùm existimationem tuam hærere, ut ais, ad metas videres, & linguis omnium vapulares, haud insolito audacissimi cujusque consilio, potentiorum studiis fretus, quos affectatis concionibus, & Corinthii æris tinnitu illo tibi fortè conciliaveras, prior Pontiam in jus vocas. Contrà*

15 *Salmasius, non insaniam, ut tu appellas, sed causam se uxoris destituere non posse per amicos tibi denuntiat. Quod eum fuisse facturum nisi justam quoque causam credidisset, tibi verisimile esse non debet. Tu, non sine consilio summorum & sapientissimorum totius Belgii capitum, quorum nimirum*

20 *patrocinium vel adulando, vel suppliciter ambiendo ad omnes nequitarum tuarum eventus tibi comparaveras, litem in su-*

now and clamour that these things have been fabricated by me. Say that these are my calumnies, when, by your own confession, I received them not as calumnies, but as criminations by almost all Holland. Ought I to keep them secret? Ought

5 I not to believe them? And because of your injury, your wickedness, and insolence towards us and our commonwealth, ought I to think that they are not true? What you consider as a faction, am not I to consider as a host of men of the highest integrity, giving their testimony, and passing their judgment?

10 Am I not to consider it as a reproof from God, that, while you are forging with so much diligence infamous libels for others, you yourself should everywhere become an infamous libel? But when, as you say, you saw "your reputation stop short in its mid-way course," and "that you were lashed by the tongues

15 of all men"—by an artifice not uncommon with audacious fellows, you throw yourself on the favour of the powerful, whom you had perhaps gained over by importunate addresses, and by that tinkling of Corinthian brass—"and yourself first enter an action against Pontia." On the other hand, Sal-

20 masius, by means of friends, gives you to understand, "that he cannot desert," not the madness, as you call it, but "the cause of his wife." And that he would act in this manner, without believing that cause to be also just, you have no right to think credible. You try the cause "in the highest court of

25 Holland, not without the advice of the most distinguished, and of the wisest personages in all that country"; that is to say, personages, whose patronage you have obtained for all the consequences of your debaucheries, either by adulation, or

prema Hollandiæ curia prosequeris. Quo in loco potentiam
quorundam, ut dixi, non innocentiam tuam præsidio tibi
maximo fuisse, si vel te ipsum audiamus causam hîc tuam
quanto potes cum artificio & cautione dicentem, obscurum
5 non est. *Desperabant* adversarii *fore se illa in curia superiores:*
tuam *afflicturos* se esse *famam* non desperabant. Quid ita? quia paucorum vim atque opes in foro dominari, cæteros pænè
omnes favere sibi videbant. At verò non tuam, sed suam ipsi
10 famam accusatores tui afflixissent, si tu æquo judicio superior
ipsorum opinione futurus videbaris. *Omnes*, inquis, *omni*
ope me unum oppugnabant; non *defuisse* tamen *amicos* tibi
agnoscis: paucos igitur & potentes fuisse illos necesse esse: id
quod etiam *miratos & conquestos esse inimicos tuos* usque cùd
non diffiteris, ut ne noceret tibi ista gratia tam aperta ac
15 manifesta veritus, haud semel subirasci te simules amicis tuis,
cùmque iis expostulare, quasi parùm prudenter tibi & non
satis cautè favissent. Itaque *suprema capita, quæ tibi suum in*
hac causa præsidium obtulere, enixè rogasti, si quid valeres
gratiâ, ne quid eorum authoritas de victoria innocentia tuæ
20 *delibaret*. Illius Judicii exitus qui demum fuerit, non dicis;

by paying court to them in all humility. If we attend even to yourself, while pleading in this place your own cause, and with all the art and caution of which you are capable, we cannot doubt that it was the power of certain persons, as I have 5 said, in that country, not your innocence, which was your greatest protection. The adversaries "despaired of getting the upper hand," in that court; but they did not despair of "demolishing" your "reputation." And why? Because they saw that it was the power and wealth of a few which predominated 10 in the court, and that almost everybody else was of their side. Now your accusers, if you appeared to them likely to get the advantage by a just sentence, would have demolished their own reputation, instead of yours. "All fought against me alone (you say) and with all their might." You "acknowledge," however, that you were not "wanting in friends." Those friends, therefore, must necessarily have been few and 15 powerful: and this, you do not deny, is what "even your enemies wondered at and complained of" so much, that, afraid lest this open and manifest favour should be injurious to you, 20 you more than once pretend to be half angry with your friends, and to expostulate with them, as if they had used too little prudence and caution in the favour they had shown you. Hence, "you earnestly entreated those distinguished person-ages, who offered you their protection in this cause, if you had 25 any part in their favour, that they would not suffer their authority to have even the smallest share in the victory of your innocence." You do not tell us what was, at last, the issue of that sentence. Certain it is, that your adversaries, so far from

Adversarii certè, tantum abfuit ut jure aut æquitate victos se esse arbitrarentur, ut quos tu reos modò feceras, hi nunc pettores, ad Synodum provocarent; & quod obtinere à magnatibus jus suum non poterant, id impetrare per Ecclesiam facilè 5 se posse sperarent. Verùm & in illa Synodo nimis multùm valuisse gratiam gratis, ut aiunt, id est nullis omnino meritis tuis datam, etiam ex iis, quæ pergis ipse narrare, satis constat. *Adsunt Delegati Lugdunenses; saccum producunt oppletum fœdissimis criminationibus:* satis amplum, opinor, si tua 10 omnia flagitia contineret, ut induendo etiam tibi, si egisses fortè poenitentiam, sufficere potuerit. *Urgent Delegati, ut prælegerentur omnia, quæ secum sacco illo gerebantur:* vel ut latiniùs dixisses, portabantur in sacco; à te enim puto, gerebantur in sindone. Sed Synodi pars magna *reluctari, famosos 15 esse libellos.* Animadvertiso queso novam ac singularem judicium æquitatem atque prudentiam; qui criminationes cum testimoniis in judicium allatas, neque dum perfectas, tanquam famosos libellos, rejiciendas esse contendunt. Horum vicit sententia: excurrit confestim unus eorum, gratulabundus 20 Moro, & *bonum factum, inquit; nihil contra te legetur.* En iterum severos judices! quorum sententia in Mori gratiam sic manifestò lata est, ut unus eorum pati non posset quin ex ipso judicio de sella prosiliret, gratulatum reo. Puduit Morum

thinking themselves overthrown in law and equity, now appeal as the plaintiffs to the synod, though you had so lately made them the defendants; and that right, which they were unable to procure of the grandees, they expect to obtain without difficulty through the church. But, that gratuitous favour, as they report, that is, favour bestowed without any merit whatever of your own, had too much influence even in that synod, sufficiently appears even from what you yourself are about to relate. "The delegates from Leyden are present; and produce a sackful of the foulest criminations": a sack large enough, I suppose, if it contained the whole of your flagitious deeds, to have been put upon yourself, if you had haply done penance. "The delegates were urgent, that they might be permitted to read all which they carried on with them in that sack": or, as you would have said in purer Latin *portabantur* for *gerebantur*: for, I imagine, your amours were carried on in fine linen. But a great part of the synod "contended, that they were infamous libels." Mark, I beseech you, the new, the singular equity and prudence of the judges, who contend that charges, with the proper testimonies, when brought into court, are to be rejected as infamous libels, without even being read. The opinion of these men prevails. Instantly one of them runs out to congratulate More, and "admirably done, (says he;) nothing will be read against you." See again, what rigorous judges! whose sentence was so evidently given so as to favour More, that one of them could not refrain from hurrying from the judgment seat to congratulate the accused! Even More himself was ashamed of so careless a sentence.

ipsum tam dissolutæ sententiæ: perturbari denuò se simulat,
& ægrè ferre, non perlegi illa volumina criminum suorum.
Objurgatus itaque bonus ille Judex & acriter ab ipso reo in-
crepitus, redit in cœtum; cæterisque facile persuadet, ut mutatâ
5 priore sententiâ statueretur, omnia legenda esse. At verò, quæ
isti Judices primùm legenda non esse, ad arbitrium deinde
Rei, conversis eâdem horâ sententiis, legenda esse decreverant,
de iis tandem perfectis quâm non attentè, quam non severè,
quâm denique in reum propensè judicaverint, intellectu diffi-
10 cile non est. Consurgunt judices; reum frequentes adeunt;
amplectuntur; & cui palam modò gratificari, ei nunc apertè
gratulari non dubitant. Quanquam ego in hoc toto judicio
non tam Mori, quâm ejus personæ atque ordinis habitam esse
rationem crediderim. Synodi præses ipse Riverius complexus
15 te, *nunquam Æthiops, inquit, ita dealbatus est, quemadmo-*
dum hodiè tu fuisti. Túne verò adeò obesâ nare homo es, ut
irrisum te potiùs, quâm absolutum hoc proverbio non sen-
tias? Riverius cùm Æthiopem te lavando & operam & laticem
frustra perdidisset, dealbavit. Tu jam salve nobis Æthiops,
20 aut, si mavis, paries dealbate; quandoquidem quo Paulus
Ananiam, eodem te Synodi præses titulo decoravit. Nunc
ipsum decretum Synodi perpendamus. *Lectis chartis iis quæ*
allatae fuerant à Delegatis Lugdunensibus circa litem illam

Again he pretends to be in trouble, and to take it ill, that those volumes of his crimes were not read over. This good judge, therefore, returns with a sharp reprimand from the defendant himself, to the assembly; and has no difficulty in persuading the rest to the resolution to change the first sentence, and to order everything to be read. Now, it is not hard to conceive, with what inattention, with how little severity, in short, with what a bias in favour of the accused, those judges would pass judgment upon the charges which they at first resolved should not be read, and afterwards, at the instance of the defendant, altering their opinions the same hour, resolved should be read. The judges rise, repair to the defendant in a body; "embrace" him; and now scruple not openly to congratulate him, whom lately they had publicly favoured. And yet, throughout this trial, I should be inclined to think that more regard was paid to his office and to his order, than to More himself! Riverius himself, embracing you, "Never, (says he,) was Ethiopian so whitened as you have been this day." And are you a man so extremely dull of sense, as not to perceive that, by this proverb, you are ridiculed rather than acquitted, when Riverius, by washing you, whitened an Ethiopian and expended his labour and chalk to no purpose? Hail to you, then, Ethiopian, or if you had rather, whitened wall; since the president of the synod has decorated you with the same title as Paul did Ananias.

Let us now weigh the decision itself of the synod. "On reading the papers which were brought by the delegates of Leyden relative to the cause which had been mangled in the

*quæ in suprema Hollandiæ curia mutilabatur, nihil in iis re-
pertum est, quod valeret adimendæ Ecclesiis libertati, quæ
Morum ad sacras conciones habendas cum occasio se dabat,
invitare solebant. Hæc, etiamsi tuâ solâ fide accipiamus,
5 quâm obscura, quâm tepida, quâm ægrè absolvant reum, aut
ne absolvant quidem, quis non videt? qui te olim maximis
cumulare laudibus solebant, nunc multis criminibus insimu-
latum, ne uno quidem verbo tenuissimo purum aut insontem
pronuntiant. Non commendant te Ecclesiis; *libertatem* tan-
10 tummodo iis non *adimunt*, quâ te, non ad Pastoris assiduum
munus, sed *cùm occasio se dabat*, ad concionandum fortuitò
invitare solebant. Ista autem occasio si se nunquam daret, id
sibi displicere aut detrimenti quicquam inde capturam esse
Ecclesiam, haudquaquam ostendunt. Tibi interim pro ara
15 pulpitum est; illa in aula te jactas buccâ notissimâ; & quò
turpior domi, eò clamosior in cœtu es: quicquid in occulto,
quicquid in *sacco* illo peccas, hîc tua cymbala, tua æra con-
crepare strenuè non desinis; & tuum illud rostrum nusquam
impudentius, quâm in rostris offers. *I nunc*, inquis, *& supra*
20 *& spurios tibi finge*. Immò, ito tu, inquam, & *stupra* tua si
audes vel uno verbo disertè nega: id quod toto hoc libro facere
non es ausus. *Consulantur acta publica*; immò consulantur*

highest court of Holland, nothing was found in them, of sufficient force to deprive the churches of the liberty of inviting More, as they had been accustomed, and as occasion offered, to deliver discourses on sacred subjects." Though we receive

5 this on your own credit only, yet who sees not how misty it is, how lukewarm, how barely it acquits the accused, or rather does not acquit him at all? The very persons who were accustomed to load you with the highest commendations, do not now pronounce you pure and innocent even by one little word,

10 charged as you are with so many crimes. They do not commend you to the churches; they merely do not "deprive" them "of the liberty," with which "they were accustomed to invite" you, not to the permanent duty of a pastor, but to preach by chance, and "as occasion offered"; but they by no

15 means make it appear, that it would displease them, or that the church would receive any detriment, if that occasion never offered. In the mean time, the pulpit is your refuge; in that court you bluster away with well-known cheek; and the more scandalous you are at home, the more noisy are you in the

20 congregation. Whatsoever sins you commit in private—whatsoever may be in that "sack," you here cease not with vehemence to tinkle your cymbals and to sound your trumpets; and in no place offer that snout of yours with greater impudence, than on the rostrum. "Go now, (say you) and forge

25 whoredoms and bastards." Nay, do you go, say I, and positively deny, by a single word, your whoredoms, if you dare; which you have not dared to do throughout this book. "The public acts are consulted"; nay, the private acts, the furtive

acta privata, acta furtiva, acta nocturna tua, quæ vulgatissima
istis regionibus jamdiu innotuere. Unde spurii si non exti-
terint, non continuò tu castus, sed èd fortassè nequior fuisti.
Hactenus quæ tu testimonia attulisti aut malè parta, aut jam
5 exoleta, id est aliquanto priùs data, quàm patefacta ea fuerint
facinora quæ à me tibi potissimùm objiciuntur, ostendi. Qui-
bus testimentiis si ab innumeris passim viris bonis quos nun-
quam nominatim læseras non est creditum, id quod ipsi
Subscriptores tui queruntur, de me nostrisque hominibus,
10 quos injuriis maximis ultrò irritasti, si non credamus, non est
meritò quod queri quisquam possit. Postremas omnium lite-
ras Amsterodamensium Consulum & Rectorum, nescio cuius
operâ, quóve pacto comparatas, ex Gallia transmittis: neque
ad tempus omni ex parte satis accommodatas, & ad rem certè
15 minimè appositas. Ego quæ tu ipse flagitiosa feceris, coarguo;
tu quid magistratus in te non fecerit hoc testimonio duntaxat
ostendis. Scripsi equidem, &, quod tum palam testatus sum,
non pro certissimo, sed ut nuper audiveram, ídque etiam per
literas fide dignas, Magistratum Amsterodamensem tibi pul-
20 pitum interdixisse. Tu literas fateris *per omnes gentes* contra

acts are consulted—your nocturnal acts, which have been long since universally notorious in those parts; whence if no bastards should appear, it would not immediately follow, that you have been chaste, but perhaps the more wicked for that 5 very reason.

Hitherto, the testimonies you have brought forward I have shown to have been either obtained by dishonourable means, or that they are now out of date; that is, dated a little before those foul doings were laid open, which constitute my principal charges against you. And if no credit is given these testimonies by innumerable good men in all places, whom you have never particularly injured,—the circumstance of which your subscribers themselves complain—there can be no reason why any one should justly complain of me and my countrymen for not believing them, to whom, though unprovoked, you have done the greatest of injuries. Last of all, you transmit from France the letters of the consuls and governors of Amsterdam; but by whose instrumentality they were procured, or by what means, I know not. These were not sufficiently adjusted, in every particular, to the time, and were certainly not at all suited to the purpose. I, on my part, charge you with the scandalous deeds you have done; and you merely show, by this testimony, what the magistrate has not done against you. I stated again, that the magistracy of Amsterdam had forbidding you the pulpit; openly testifying at the same time, that I had not heard this as an undoubted fact, but that I had heard it lately, and by means of letters worthy of credit. You acknowledge that letters in your disfavour “have been fre-

te ab *adversariis* tuis *missitatas*. Et eos adversarios nunc scribis esse tuos; ego & bonos viros esse eos acceperam, & te adversarium sciebam esse meum. Ex ipsis quæro Magistratibus Amsterodamensium, num istiusmodi quippam allatum ad se 5 de adversario non tantum suo, sed civitatis etiam suæ, silentio prætermittendum censuissent? Hoc igitur si verum non sit, est quoque levissimum; de quo & ego minimè laborare, & tu minimè exultare debeas. Nunquid est aliud quod testentur tibi hæ literæ? est aliud. Te *ex quo tempore apud se in publico* 10 *munere versatus es, nihil admisisse quod justum prædictis columniis locum dare potuerit*. Quid si antè admiseris, quām ad eos venisti? Nam quibus Consulibus admissa abs te quæque fuerint, cuius in scabinatum pruritiones tuæ inciderint, si ex ratione fastorum non habeo dicere, id non dices, arbitror, ita 15 magni referre. Quid, inquam, si ante admiseris? quod ego quidem pro certo habeo. Tum sanè & hoc quoque testimonium, ancile tuum, haud multò plus ponderis, quām alterius cuiusquam habuerit; ut, quod de iis, quæ auditione tantum acceperat ab aliis, testificetur. Quod autem adjungitur te *extra* 20 *culpam notamve fuisse*, id adeò liquidò non ita se habet, ut etiam reliqua in dubium vocare videatur. Non alium igitur atque te ipsum tuis Consulibus opponam; qui te culpatum, notatum, vexatum, linguis omnium toto Belgio vapulasse, haud semel, pluribúsque verbis confessus es. Commodū

quently sent," by your "adversaries, to all nations." You now write that these are your adversaries; and I had learnt that the same are good men, and knew that you are my adversary. I ask the magistrates of Amsterdam themselves, whether they

5 had thought that anything of this sort, brought to them concerning the enemy not of themselves alone, but of their city, ought to be passed over in silence? This then, if not true, is likewise most trivial; and in no wise requires labouring even by me, and to you, is certainly as little reason for exultation.

10 Is there anything else which these letters testify for you? There is. They testify that, "since you have lived among them in a public capacity, you have done nothing which could furnish any just ground for the aforesaid calumnies." But suppose you should have done something before you went to

15 them? For if, by inspecting the calendar, I cannot tell under what consuls every act was committed by you—upon whose shrievalty your pruriencies happened to fall—this, I imagine, you will not think of much consequence. Suppose, I say, you had done something before? which I know for certain that

20 you had. Then, it is plain, this testimony also would not have much more weight than any of the former; since it would be a mere hearsay testimony. But what is added, that "you have been without fault or stigma," is so clearly not true, that it seems to throw a suspicion upon all the rest. To your consuls

25 therefore, I will oppose nobody but yourself: for you have confessed more than once, and in many words, that, censured, branded, harassed, as you are, you have been lashed, throughout Belgium, by the tongues of all men. They therefore luck-

itaque intersetunt, *ut ad nos relatum est.* A quibus autem? nam & ad nos longè alia & à plurimis relata sunt: utrorum qui hæc tam variè referunt anteponenda fides sit, ipsi nostram æquè ac suam existimationem esse sciunt. At verò non ad se 5 omnia quamvis consules, relata esse ut doceam, respondeant mihi rogo libellus iste in nos famosus, à Moro editus, relatúsne ad se fuerit? quem libellum edidisse in nostram Rempublicam non ministri erat Evangelici, sed ardelionis, & calumniatoris, & nebulonis maledicentissimi. Si negant de hoc libello quic-10 quam sibi perlatum, posse & multa alia etiam improbissima non perferri ad se de hoc Moro velim existiment. Sin fateantur allatum sibi esse illius libri editorem fuisse Morum, suum ta-15 men illi testimonium tanquam homini reverendo, probo, inculpato perhibuerint, sciant nos istiusmodi testimonium etiam Consulum & Scabinorum tanquam levissimum & nul-lius planè autoritatis repudiare. Horum, inquis, Rectorum gravitatem, fidem, autoritatem si nosses, sexcentis mille-20 norum Miltonorum libellis retundendis parem agnosceres. Ego verò, mi homo, id nescio an ita facilè agnoscerem; quan- doquidem & id nescio, ἀριστίνδην, απ πλούτινδην, virtute an censu magistratum illum in civitate sua obtineant. Neque me latet Consules et Prætores, illustriora longè quam nunc sunt no-

ily insert, "as has been told us." But by whom? for very different things have been told us, and by numbers of persons; and they themselves are aware, that it concerns our reputation as well as their own, whose credit is preferred, of those

5 whose accounts of these matters are so various. But to show that, though consuls, all has not been told them, let them answer me, whether they were ever told of that infamous libel against us, which was published by More? To have published this libel upon our commonwealth was not the business of

10 a minister of the gospel, but of a busy-body, of a calumniator, of the most scandalous of scoundrels. If they deny that anything had reached them concerning this libel, I would have them think it possible that many other things have not reached them concerning this More—things too the most un-

15 principled. But if they confess that More was mentioned to them as the editor of that book, and yet give him their testimony as a reverend, honest, and blameless man, let them know that we reject such a testimony, though coming from consuls and sheriffs, as the lightest of all testimonies, and as

20 absolutely without any authority whatsoever. "If (you say) you had formed any conception of the gravity, the credit, the authority of these governors, you would acknowledge them equal to crush infinite libels of a thousand Miltos." But then, my man, I know not whether I should be so ready to acknowl-

25 edge it: for I know not whether it was for their virtue or for their wealth, that they obtained that magistracy in their city. Nor is it any secret to me, that consuls and prætors, names far more illustrious than they are in our day, zealously defended

mina, etiam Verrem, reorum omnium Romæ perditissimum, studiosè defendisse, cum provincia tota, virique boni universi gravissimè accusarent. Hoc summum fidei tuæ publicæ propugnaculum, eadémque basis & firmamentum maximum, 5 quām nullo tamen negotio labefactetur & corruat vides. Sequitur Ecclesiæ Amsterodamensis Gallo-Belgicæ testimonium subscriptore in primis Hottono, Mori intimo, & quod suprà demonstravimus, Regii Clamoris conscio. Valde nobis probatum sit necesse est hujusmodi testimonium cuius subscriptionis princeps est Hottonus. Sed tamen quid afferat, videamus. *Tantum abesse, ait, ut eorum criminum eum reum esse sciamus aut agnoscamus quorum à quodam Miltone Anglo accusatur.* — Hujus fidei vis maxima, ut video, in ignorantia professione posita est. Quid hoc testimonio facimus? quid hac fide? quæ suâ se potissimum ignorantiam commendat. Reum esse nescimus, non agnoscimus: hoc quis præterea toto propemodum Belgio ignorat, quæ illi præcipue crimina objicio, eorum ipsum in utroque foro, non reum modò diuturnum fuisse, sed plurimorum judicio damnatissimum; 10 nec nisi potentium quorundam studiis, útque sacro potius ordini quām ipsi consuleretur, fuisse absolutum. Tantum abest ut reum esse sciamus, *ut contrà potius ab illo aliquoties*

even Verres, the most profligate of all the Roman criminals, when the whole province, and every good man charged him with the weightiest accusations. Though this is the main bulwark of your public faith, its foundation and chief support, 5 you see with how little trouble it may be shaken and made to fall in pieces.

The testimony of the Gallo-Belgic church at Amsterdam comes next; and the first subscriber we meet with is Otto, an intimate friend of More, and who was privy, as we have before shown, to the *Royal Cry*. A testimony of this sort, of the subscribers to which Otto is the prime, must no doubt, in our estimation, carry with it a vast weight of proof! Let us see, however, what it brings. “So far (it says) from our knowing or acknowledging him guilty of the crimes, of which he is 10 accused by one Milton, an Englishman”—As it seems to me, the greatest force of this faith is founded in a profession of ignorance. What can we do with this testimony? what with this faith, which recommends itself chiefly by its ignorance? ‘We know not, we acknowledge not that he is guilty.’ Who 15 else, in almost all Belgium, is ignorant, that he has not only been long since prosecuted both in the civil and ecclesiastical court, for the crimes with which I chiefly charge him, but that in the opinion of most men, he richly deserved condemnation for the same; and that he would not have been acquitted, but 20 for the warm exertions of certain powerful personages, in regard of the sacredness of his order, rather than of himself. So far from our knowing him to be guilty, “that, on the contrary, we have often requested of him, discourses on sacred sub-

concciones sacras rogaverimus. Contenti nempe hoc forensi judicio, ubi gratia plus justo potuit; & suadente præsertim Hottono, quoties ipse respirare & suis parcere lateribus decrevisset. Verùm hoc quid efficit? aut quis est nescius multos in 5 concionibus satis esse placitos, satis suaves ac tinnulos, qui in omni vita reliqua offensioni maximæ fuerint? Etenim qui suis libidinibus explendis dat operam, quid obstat quo minus idem titillandis alienis auribus commodè servire possit? Quod reliquum est, index potiùs operis, quàm testimonium dici 10 meretur: quando enim aliud quod dicat non habet, *satis supérque testantur*, inquit, *de ipso aliarum Ecclesiarum in quibus vixit diutius quàm apud nos publica documenta ad quæ nos iis consentiendo referimus.* Quæ vox detrectantium penè, & libenter hoc negotio expedire se cupientium prorsus 15 videtur; facítque ut non immeritò suspicemur, testimonium hoc, tametsi planè friget, non sine sudore tamen Mori, allaborante etiam Hottono, multis repugnantibus, impetratum ægrè fuisse. Epilogi loco est *Curatorum scholæ* testimonium. Verùm in schola quid tu declamites, quid recites, aut quem- 20 admodum te geras, neque tanti esse reor ut cognoscere curemus, neque ad hanc causam pertinet. Vitam & mores tuos excutimus: quos cum isti vix attingere, & ad literas superiores malle nos remittere videantur, quod ad eorum testimo-

jects"; content, no doubt, with this forensic judgment, in which favour availed more than justice; and which was advised by Otto in particular, as he himself wanted to draw breath, and to spare his own sides. But what does this make
5 for him? or who knows not that many men are agreeable enough, and sweet enough, and ear-tingling enough in their discourses, who, in the rest of their lives are pre-eminently scandalous? Besides, what hinders a man, who is eager in the gratification of his lusts, from being apt at titillating the ears
10 of other people?

What remains should be called the index of the work, rather than a testimony; for when it has nothing else to say, "Enough (it says) and more than enough is testified of the same person by the public documents of other churches, in
15 which he has continued longer than he has with us; and as we agree with these, to them we refer." This looks exactly like the language of people who were shifting off—who would willingly get quit of the business; and makes us justly suspect, that this testimony, though evidently cold, was yet not obtained without difficulty, without resistance from many,
20 without the sweat of More, and the struggles of Otto.

Instead of an epilogue, we have the testimony of the "trustees of the school." But what you declaim, what you recite, or how you conduct yourself in the school, I do not think of sufficient consequence for us to be anxious to know; nor has it any connection with this cause. We are examining your life and manners; and as they seem scarcely to touch upon these, and to prefer sending us back to former letters, so we may rest
25

nium infirmandum satis sit, superiùs quoque dictum putemus. Ad finem aliquando pervenimus tuæ Fidei publicæ; quæ ex Gallico ferè sermone in Gallico-latinum *tralatitia* inanissimi libri maximam partem occupat. Copias jam omnes
5 tuas cum supplemento etiam lustravimus: per amplias quidem eas, sed ad pompam sanè potiùs, quām ad verum robur comparatas. Hæ sunt plumæ tuæ, sub quibus corniculam latitare te dixi. Hæc vestis illa multicolor quā Morum revera, id est morionem te induisti: his tu phaleris ne populum quidem
10 fefelleris: tūque si sapuisses, aut ullo rerum usu prædictus fuisses, nullius fore usus tibi hæc omnia, quod ad tuam attinet causam, facilè intellixisses. Potest fortasse quispiam, cuius nomen alioqui nunquam audissemus, tam sui venditandi causā quām tui, phalerata verba tibi deditse: potest
15 aliorum pudor & bonitas flagitanti ac sudanti, & agi jam tuam existimationem miserè querenti, hoc tantulum non denegasse. Potes tu per interpretes Hottonos multa confecisse: & tamen post hæc omnia scito te nihil quod ad rem pertineat in medium protulisse. Quid juverit, quæso, vel in foro testi-
20 monia generatim dicta, quid elogia de tuis *dotibus*, quid incertas blandientium amicorum laudes proferre, si ego te cer-

persuaded that enough has been said above to invalidate their testimony.

At last, we are come to the end of your *Public Faith*, which, mostly translated from French into Frenchified Latin, 5 occupies the greater part of this most inane book. We have now also reconnoitred the whole of your forces, together with the supplement; and they are numerous enough no doubt, but, in truth, were collected for show, rather than for real strength. These are your plumes, under which I 10 said you concealed the daw. This is that many-coloured garment, by which you have put on Morus indeed, that is, the fool; with these trappings not even the people will have been deceived; and if you had been wise, or had possessed any knowledge of the world, you would have known that, 15 with respect to your cause, all these things could be of no use to you. Somebody, perhaps, of whose name we might otherwise never have heard, may have bestowed upon you pompous words for the sake of bragging of himself as well as of you; and others from their modesty and goodness may have 20 been unable to deny this trifle to your earnest entreaty, to your laborious struggles, and to your pitiful complaints that your reputation already tottered. You yourself may have despatched many things by your interpreters, the Otto's. And yet, after all this, be assured you have brought forward nothing which 25 is to the purpose. Of what use, I pray, could it be, to bring into court testimonies which were given generally, encomiums upon your "endowments," the suspicious praises of flattering friends, when I accuse you of crimes which admit of no

torum criminum accuso? Accusarunt te adulterii Genevæ olim viri graves; tempus, locum, adulteram nominarunt: multorum præterea criminum te detulerunt. Quid si istam faraginem pro testimonio Judicibus tum tuis ostendisses? ac 5 cepturósne putas fuisse eos, téque absolvendum istis criminibus fuisse continuò judicaturos? immò verò jussissent te, ablatis hisce nugis, appositiè respondere; ullámne cum ista fœmina rem, rationémve habueris; illo in horto eámne con-
veneris; illo in tugurio, clausis foribus, solúsne cum sola fueris.
10 Hæc & hujusmodi multa ex te requisissent; ad quæ singula, neque in illo tum judicio, quod te jure absolvere vel suspicione posset (judicium enim illud petitâ abeundi licentiâ commo-
dùm prævertisti) neque in hoc libro, tot alioqui ineptiis refer-
tissimo, quicquam respondes. Facis idem prorsus in causa
15 quoque Pontiana: quid in foro transactum sit, quantopere tua
gratia ad præjudicium miseræ mulierculæ post Salmasii obi-
tum valuerit, suspiciosè admodum ipse narras. De illis noc-
turnis Hagâ Leidam itineribus, de illis cum Pontia clandestinis
atque nocturnis congressibus, quanquam hæc & multò plura
20 hujusmodi omnibus in ore sunt, nullum verbum facis. Quid
hæc prorsus alienissima nobis obtrudis? immò quid omnino
hanc tantam literarum ac testimoniorum congeriem tibi ullo
tempore comparasti? an quod tuæmet ipse conscientiæ satis

suspicion? Men of grave character accused you of adultery heretofore, at Geneva. They mentioned the time, the place, the adulteress. They charged you besides with various other crimes. What, if at that time you had shown your judges this
5 farrago for a testimony? Do you imagine they would have accepted it, and forthwith have pronounced you not guilty of the alleged crimes? On the contrary, they would have thrown aside this trash, and have ordered you to answer to the point: Had you any thing to do with that woman? Did you take any
10 account of her? Did you meet her in that garden? Were you alone with her in that little lodge, with closed doors? These are the questions, and many others of a like tendency, which they would have asked you; to none of which do you make any reply, which could set you free from the law or from sus-
15 picion, either at the time of that trial (which you seasonably prevented by asking leave to withdraw) nor in this book, stuffed as it is with other absurdities without number. You act precisely in the same way also in the affair of Pontia. You yourself gave a very suspicious account of what passed in
20 court, of how much the favour shown you operated, after the death of Salmasius, to the prejudice of that unhappy woman. You say not a word of those nocturnal jaunts from the Hague to Leyden, of those clandestine meetings in the night with Pontia, though these things, and many more of the same kind,
25 are in everybody's mouth. Why obtrude upon us what is altogether foreign to the business? Nay, for what purpose did you collect this huge heap of letters and testimonies at all? Was it that you were not sufficiently satisfied with yourself in

probatus apud te non eras? an quod de te nec tibi ipsi, nec spontaneis hominum sermonibus credere audebas, nisi tot coactis nominibus ac testimoniiis tibimet confirmatum hoc esset atque testatum, id quod alioqui nunquam credidisses, te 5 virum bonum aut tolerabilem posse cuiquam videri? An verò tot criminibus accusatus, cùm de te homines ubique pessimè loquerentur, commendationibus totidem sanare illa vulnera posse te existimasti? atqui vides quo sæpius ex mala valetudine ad inanem medicinam, ex novis maleficiis & rumoribus 10 inde natis ad novas perpetuò commendationes recurris, earum authoritatem eò semper minorem abs te reddi atque indies leviorem: ægrotare nimirum existimationem tuam & morbosissimam esse, quæ tot purgationibus, tot medicamentis indigat commendationum quis est quin suspicetur? Sed fortassè 15 longinquas in urbes quemadmodum prædicas, ad Professiones amplissimas persæpè invitatus, hoc te quasi commeatu, iter facturus, instruxisti. Optimè: quæro itaque an proficiisci in animo tibi fuerit ad eos homines qui te ignorassent, an qui satis nossent? si ad illos, venustus profectò homo necesse est 20 tibi fueris, qui ab illis invitatum iri te unquam credideris, qui te ignorassent: Si ad hos qui te jam satis norant, quid hoc tanto commendationum instrumento ac sarcinâ ad eos opus

your own conscience? or because you dared not believe either yourself concerning yourself, or what was spontaneously said of you by mankind, without having confirmed and testified to you, by such a host of names and testimonies, the assertion,
5 that you can be regarded by any one as a good man or even durable—which you would otherwise have never believed? But when charged with so many crimes, when mankind, in all places, gave you the worst of characters, did you think to be able to heal those wounds with a like number of bepraisings? You see, however, that the oftener, from ill health, you vainly have recourse to physic, the oftener, from new misdemeanors, and the rumours thence arising, you are running after new commendations, of the less weight do you always and daily make their authority. Indeed, who is there who
15 would not suspect your reputation to be sick—in a most morbid condition, when it wants so many purges, so much of the physic of commendation? But perhaps you were about to make a journey to distant cities, and provided yourself with this account of your style of preaching, and of your very frequent invitations to the most ample professorships, as a sort of safe conduct. Very well: I ask now, whether it was your intention to travel to people who knew nothing about you, or to those who knew you well? If to the former, you must indeed have been a charming man in your own eyes, when you
20 could even believe yourself invited by those who did not know you! if to the latter, to those who already knew you well, what need had they of this huge document and budget of commendations, to whom you knew yourself before to be abundantly

erat, quibus jam anteà commendatissimum te esse ex eo ipso,
quòd invitassent, sciebas. Perspicuum igitur est, nullam ob
rem aliam, tantam vim testimoniorum commendatitiam sic
te studiosè concessisse & in promptu semper habuisse, nisi vel
5 ad ostentationem quandam circulatoriam, ad quam artem
factum te præcipuè atque natum existimari, vel impenden-
tis ignominiae metu, quam ex flagitiis nondum patefactis cer-
tissimam tibi expectabas. Ut haberetis nimirum speciosum
aliquid & publicum & foris partum, quod privatæ atque
10 domesticæ & erumpenti interdum ex latebris opponeres in-
famia; utque Procerum atque Doctorum splendidis testi-
moniis in quibus consequendis gratia atque ambitio nunc
ferè plurimum possunt, contra populi veras voces te com-
munires. Verùm ista te spes ut dixi, & frustrata jam est, &
15 frustrabitur; cùm quia tuam obtegere improbitatem atque
nequitiam, neque lux ulla neque tenebræ possunt, tum quia
hoc, ipsum quicquid est munimenti, quo te circumsepsisti,
per se satis infirmum atque rimosum est. Id planius adhuc
fiet, si testimonia hæc tua, quemadmodum per se singula
20 consideravimus, ita nunc postrema primis, prima mediis con-
feramus; & doctores procerésque tuos inter se paulisper com-
mittamus. Ut intelligi tandem possit, quæ fides illius fidei
publicæ, illorum testium sit, ubi aut alii ab aliis tam longè
dissentient, aut plerique tam multa vel dissimulant vel ne-
25 sciunt, quæ suâ sponte alii fatentur. Illud imprimis exemplo

commended from the fact of their inviting you? It is plain, therefore, that you have so diligently heaped together and have always at hand such a mass of commendatory testimonies for no other purpose, than either for a certain circulatory os-
5 tentation, an art for which I could fancy you expressly made and born, or through fear of impending ignominy, which you expected as indubitably certain, from the flagitious deeds which were not yet brought to light; that, no doubt, you may have something specious and public, something derived
10 from without, to oppose to your private and domestic infamy, which is, every now and then, breaking cover; and that by the splendid testimonies of the great and of the learned, to obtain which, favour and canvassing are now commonly the most available, you may fortify yourself against the uninflu-
15 enced voice of the people. But, as I have said, you have been already disappointed in that hope, and will still be disappointed, both because neither light nor darkness can conceal your dishonour and wickedness, and because this rampart, such as it is, with which you have surrounded yourself, is of
20 itself sufficiently weak and full of breaches. This will appear more clearly, if, as we have already considered these testimonies of yours singly, we now compare the last with the first, and the first with the intermediate, and your doctors and great people one with the other. Hence, it will at length be known,
25 what is the faith of this public faith, and of those witnesses, when they either differ so widely the one from the other, or when most of them either dissemble, or know nothing about many things, which are voluntarily confessed by others. Let

sit, quod in iis literis occurrit quæ Genevensis esse Ecclesiæ dicuntur. *Nihil utique illi, id est Moro, vel ab infensissimis hostibus merito objici queat, quod justæ sit reprehensioni obnoxium.* Ego contrà non quæ hostes objiciunt Moro, sed 5 quæ amici ejus, quæ testes ejus & justæ reprehensioni obnoxia fatentur, & ipsi in eo reprehendunt, ex his iisdem testimoniis depromam. Quid enim Deodatus? *Non provocat quidem Morus, sed terribiles unguis habet ad sui tutelam.* Quos unguis? nam istiusmodi quicquam inter Evangelici ministri 10 arma non reperio; & Eloquentiam nolim à viro docto atque humano, tam truci metaphorâ significari: Reliquum est, ut unguis illos, feritatem atque ferociam hominis interpretetur, quos non ad tutelam sui, sed ad injuriam aliorum, in nos certè nimiùm expeditos atque acres feræ similius quàm pastori 15 exercuit. Apertiora haud paulò sunt quæ Georgius Crantzius, Alberti æmulus, ne ab avunculo fortè suo historicâ fide superretur, & quantò ægrior tantò fortasse veracior ultrò nobis largitur. *Ego Mori notitiam habui & Genevæ & in Belgio; semper magnas inimicitias exercuit cum æmulis, quibus ipse 20 locum sèpe præbuit nimiâ libertate loquendi.* En hoc teste, contra quàm ab altero dictum modò est, & *unguis habet & provocat Morus. Ferox atque fidens, crabronum irritator*

us take first for an example what we meet with in the letters, said to be from the church of Geneva. "Nothing, certainly, can be justly objected to him," that is to More, "even by the bitterest enemies, which is liable to merited censure." On the 5 contrary, I will produce, from these same testimonies, not what is objected to More by enemies, but by his friends; what his witnesses confess is both "liable to merited censure," and what themselves censure in him. For what says Diodati? "More, it is true, gives no challenge; but he has terrible nails 10 for his own defence." What nails? for I find nothing of this sort among the arms of a minister of the gospel; and I am unwilling to think that, by a man of learning and humanity, eloquence could be designated by so savage a metaphor. It follows, therefore, that we must understand those nails to 15 mean the fury and ferocity of the man, which, like a wild beast more than a shepherd, he has used not for the defence of himself, but for the injury of others, and against us, certainly, with too much freedom and acrimony. More explicit, and in no small degree, is what we are voluntarily favoured with by 20 George Crantz, the rival of Albert; perhaps, that he may not be surpassed by his uncle in historic faith; the sicker he is, too, the more veracious may he possibly be. "I was acquainted with More both at Geneva and in Holland. He was always at great enmity with his rivals, to which he himself often furnished the 25 occasion by his freedom of speaking." And according to this witness, contrary to what has been just said by another, More "has nails," and gives provocation too. "Fierce," and "confident," he is the most malicious "of irritators to waspish

infestissimus: Beelsebubem prope alterum dicas, nisi quod ille
muscas: Laboris alioqui *intolerantior*, teste etiam laudatore
Salmasio; cujus & *uxorem variè læserat*, & alia quædam com-
miserat *inconsideratione tali homine indignā*. Hæc ab amicis
5 ac testibus tuis vis ipsa veritatis expressit; quæ quamvis favore
& studio dicentium in molliorem partem flectantur, ejusmodi
tamen sunt quæ ingenium tuum palam omnibus faciant, &
hujus testimonii totius fidem infirmare haud mediocriter
atque infringere videantur: cujus altera pars probum, inoffen-
10 sum, sanctum, omni labe ac vitio carentem, altera contenti-
tiosum, turbulentum, arrogantem, garrulum, ignavum, in-
jurium, inconsideratum denique & stultum nobis exhibet
Morum. Sic fuit tua fides publica, id est, nulla: reverteris nunc
iterum ad privatam, quæ nullâ minor est. *At vides interea*,
15 *inquis, quām non tralatitio me dignentur affectu, quos tu vis*
mihi furcas comparare. Immò tu vide, si potes, irâ atque
amentiâ impeditus, quām vehementer hallucineris, quām
nihil attentè agas. Non ego hoc *de Batavis*, sed Genevensibus
intelligi volebam; nec quid hi statuissent, sed quid tu meru-
20 isses. *Verba*, inquis, *tua recognosce, Orestis æmule.* Recog-
nosco, inquam, Orestis æmule! Cujus flagitia si pro meritis

people": you would almost think him another Beëlzebub, but that he merely cast out flies. That he is otherwise "impatient" of labour, even Salmasius his eulogist bears witness; whose "wife he had" also "injured in various ways," and had been

5 guilty of some other things, "from a thoughtlessness unworthy of such a man." These things have been wrung from your friends and witnesses by the very force of truth; which things, though they may receive a milder interpretation from the favour and concern of the reporters, are nevertheless of

10 such a nature as may lay open to all men your real disposition, and seem to weaken and in a great measure to dissipate the credit of the whole of this testimony: for one part presents More to us as honest, inoffensive, sanctified, without stain or defect of any sort; the other exhibits him as contentious,

15 turbulent, arrogant, loquacious, idle, injurious, in fine, as thoughtless and foolish. Such was your public faith, that is no faith at all. You now return again to private, which is still less than none. "You see, however (says he) that those whom you would have to provide a gallows for me, have not thought me

20 deserving even of a tralatitious punishment." Nay, do you see, if you can, blinded as you are by anger and frenzy, what outrageous blunders you make; that nothing you do is done with proper care. I meant this to be understood not of the Hollanders but of the Genevese; nor did I mean to signify by it

25 what even their resolutions should have been, but what were your deserts. "Rival of Orestes (say you) recollect what you have said." I recollect, (say I) rival of Orestes! whose "prof-
ligacies, if the magistrate had received as they deserved, you

excepisset Magistratus, jamdudum adulteria patibulo pendens
luiisses: nimirum Genevæ, ubi adulterii delatus eras; ad alios
magistratus cognitio illius facti pertinere non potuit. Quæ
sequuntur porrò & luiturus propediem videris, & hæc non
5 iratus tibi ominor, sed duntaxat jus dico, facilè demonstrant,
non tum prædixisse me quid sis passurus, sed pronuntiasse
quid essem meritus; idque (cùm de nobis ipse prior judicasses)
pari jure meo fecisse. I nunc, non conscientiæ integritate, non
justâ defensione, sed scelerum impunitate, quod facis, effe
10 te & gloriare. *Huic, inquis, fungo, nuper è terra nato quem
aut quos opposui?* Erras, More, & me non nosti: mihi lentè
crescere, & velut occulto ævo satius semper fuit. Tu ille fungus
qui ex ephebis modò Genevam profectus, Græcarum litera-
rum professor subitò emersisti; & tot viris natu *grandioribus*
15 *Ecclesiastis, Jureconsultis, Medicis, illâ ingenii tunc primùm
efflorescentis gratiâ*, ut tu satis fungosè narras, *palmam* præ-
ripiuisti: mox inter fungos, & olera, & armamenta olitoria,
fungo recens tuberante, non tu quidem Claudium extinxisti,
sed Claudiam supinasti. Nunc *conciliare* me jubes mea *dicta*,
20 si possum, & *fabulas* cum Magistratum *dictis atque judiciis*

would long ago have expiated your adulteries on a gallows": I mean at Geneva, where you were prosecuted for adultery; the cognizance of that deed could not belong to other magistrates. Moreover, what follows—"you seem very likely to

5 make an expiation ere it be long"—and—"nor do I forbode these things for you in anger, but simply speak what is right"—clearly show, that I did not predict, at that time, what you would actually suffer, but declared what you deserved to suffer; and that I had done this by the same right with which you

10 had first passed judgment upon us. Go, now, and extol yourself, as you do, and glory not in the purity of your conscience, not in the justice of your defence, but in your impunity for your crimes. "To this mushroom (say you) which is just sprung out of the earth, what person or persons have I opposed?"

15 You mistake, More, and know me not. To me it always appeared best to grow slowly, and as it were, by imperceptible advances. You are that mushroom, who, when only just out of your boyhood, went to Geneva, and all at once popped up professor of Greek; and as you tell, mushroom-like, bore

20 away "the palm from so many men who were" your elders, ecclesiastics, lawyers, physicians, by favour of that genius, which was then only beginning to blossom. By and by, the mushroom having recently become tuberous, you did not, it is true, put an end to Claudius, but you laid Claudia on her

25 back among the mushrooms, and the pot-herbs, and the pot-herb tackle. You now bid me "reconcile" my "words and tales," if I can, with "the words and decisions" of the magistrates, namely those for which you went a-begging. Now, I

abs te scilicet emendicatis: Ego verò mea dicta cum tuis factis
facilè conciliavero; de ipsorum dictis atque judiciis ipsi vide-
rint: nos ut non porticibus, ita nec iisdem judiciis fruimur.
Tu tecum si potes temetipsum concilia; qui totum illud Gene-
5 vense negotium, & gravissimum in te crimen adulterii, quasi
fabulam refutatione prorsus indignam prætermisisti; hîc alte-
ram fabulam de infenso erga te Magistratum animo, summâ
curâ, summóque studio refellere conaris. Cur illam quæ
vehementissimè ad te pertinuit, tam facilè prætermittis, hanc
10 quæ te minimè attingit corrogatis tot testibus tantâ mole
refutare contendis? Sanè si ipse tibimet constare vis videri,
nósque tuum institutum & respondendi rationem intuemur,
qui fabulas confutatione indignas esse censes, aut illud in te
verum crimen, aut hoc de te non verum Magistratûs judicium
15 credamus oportebit. At non omni ex parte vituperandus est
Morus; habet suas laudes; magna vitia magnis virtutibus
compensat; facit quod in homine Ecclesiastico laudatissimum
simul & rarissimum est, ut gratis concionetur. *Nullo*, inquit,
stipendio authoratus gratuitam Ecclesiae operam rogatus præ-
20 *sto*: immò verò fortuitam; ex quo videlicet ampliore mercede
propositâ, relichto Pastoris munere, sacrarum Historiarum
Professor factus es; id est revera, ex sacrario in scholam ad
stipendium uberioris emigrasti: tum si cujus rogatu fortè con-
cionaris, hoc tanquam beneficii loco imputas; cùm assiduum
25 Pastoris ministerium deserueris, ut hanc subcisisivam operam

shall easily reconcile my words with your deeds: as to their words and decisions, let themselves see to them; as we use not the same courts, neither do we make use of the same decisions. Do you, if you can, reconcile yourself with yourself; you
5 dismiss the whole of that Genevese business, and the heavy charge against you of adultery, as a tale unworthy of refutation, and try with utmost diligence to deny the other as arising from the hostility of the magistrates towards you. Why do you so readily pass over that tale, which so intimately concerned you, and strive with such mighty efforts, with such a host of witnesses, to refute this, which in no wise affects you. Indeed, if you would be consistent with yourself, and if we consider your purpose, your reason for reply, we must necessarily believe either that charge against
10 15 you to be true, or this decision of the magistrate in your case to be false.

Nevertheless, More is not to be found fault with at all points. He has his merits. Great vices are compensated by great virtues. He does what, in an ecclesiastic is very laudable, and at the same time very unusual; he preaches gratis. "I have no salary (says he) as hire; I perform the church-duty gratuitously": and what is more, fortuitously. Whence, we may see, that on the offer of more abundant hire, you quitted the office of pastor, and became professor of sacred history: in other words, you migrated from the sanctuary to the school, for the sake of a more ample salary. Then, if you happen to preach at the request of any one, you consider this as conferring a favour; when you deserted the uninterrupted ministry of a pastor, that you might seem to bestow this spare duty for
20 25

desertæ abs te Ecclesiæ non sine maximo compendio tuo gratis impertire videaris. Tu verò, More, si Ecclesiam Medioburgensem, quæ te, ut ais, tam honorificè invitasset, tanto cum fructu audisset, tam ægrè dimisisset, sine gravissima 5 causa reliquisses, & ad alium gregem, idémque munus Pastoris te contulisses, reprehendendum meritò & levitatis argendum existimari. Nunc cùm *Attalicis*, ut ipse ais, *conditionibus*, non Christianis, & *emolumenti fructu* longè uberiore adductus, non de grege in gregem desultorius tantummodo 10 Pastor transieris, sed illo munere longè potiore posthabito, ex Evangelii ministro mutatus in Professorem & Historicum, ex ipsis Ecclesiæ adytis ad pomœria regressus sis, non mercenarii solum, sed defectoris propè numero habendum te esse, si habenda veteris & sanctissimæ disciplinæ ulla ratio est, affirmare non vereor. At concionaris tamen: & strenuè quidem, 15 nunquam *majore cum fructu* Attalico, ad Pergamenos putà, non tuum ad gregem; quibus si fortè aures vix satis teretes pruriunt, tu, vitio cantorum planè converso, rogatus nunquam desistis: & velut sacerdos Phrygiæ matris nondum 20 exectus, aut Curetum aliquis, moves libenter tua crotala; non ut vagitum quempiam fabulosum, sed ut rumores flagitiorum tuorum plus nimio veraces fanaticâ vociferatione obruas. Hoc tu septenario strepitu & doctrinâ fortuitâ, ut quivis olim

nothing upon the church you had abandoned; though, in fact, not without the greatest advantage to yourself. Now, More, if you had left, without the most weighty reasons, the church of Middelburg, which, as you say, had given you an 5 invitation so much to your honour, had heard you with so much fruit, and which was so loath to part with you, and if you had betaken yourself even to another flock, and to the same pastoral office, I should have thought you justly to blame, and chargeable with levity. But when, as you say yourself, you 10 are induced by "Attalic," instead of Christian "conditions"— by a far higher emolument,—and passed from flock to flock, not merely from fickleness, but were metamorphosed from a minister of the gospel into a professor and historian, from a comparative disregard of that far better office, and made a 15 retrograde movement from the sanctuary of a church to the precincts of a city—I scruple not to affirm, if any regard is to be paid to the ancient and holiest discipline, that you ought to be considered as a renegado. And yet you preach; and strenuously too—never "with greater" Attalic "fruit," that is, I suppose, 20 to Pergamenians, not to your own flock; whose ears, which are not over-nice, if they happen to be set a-tingling, and you are invited, reversing the usual fault of singers, you never give over; and like a priest of the Phrygian mother not yet mutilated, or one of the Curetes, you willingly strike your 25 cymbals, not to drown any fabulous cry, but that you may overwhelm the rumours of your profligacies, which are but too true, with fanatical vociferation. By this septenary noise and fortuitous way of teaching, reciting when asked, like

cyclicus aut sophista, si rogatus recitas, desertum Pastoris munus assiduum explere te putas? At concionator est bellus & facundus. Ita, credo, ut est orator; cui proverbia si demas, & insutos versiculorum centones, orationis ipso filo atque 5 contextu nihil inornatus, nihil incompositius, nihil verbosius atque putidius; nihil ubi venustatem, numerum, atque nervos paulò disertiore homine dignos magis requiras. Unum est in quo graviter titubatum à me esse fateor: Græcarum literarum professorem dixi, quem sacrarum Historiarum dixisse debui: 10 enim verò incredibile mihi prorsus, & portento simile videbatur, Historiarum sacrarum eum esse Professorem, qui tot profanarum argumentum ipse atque materies esset. Tu verò mihi rectiùs, More, non Historiarum, sed Calumniarum Professor deinceps nominaberis. Quod ne quis à me secus atque 15 res ipsa se habet dictum arbitretur, mea ipsa verba abs te prolata in medio ponam; tuam deinde horum interpretationem, quam dico esse Calumniam: ut quām impudenter & malitiosè agas, quod & suprà idque sæpius demonstravi, & hinc qualem te sacræ etiam literæ tortorem proculdubio 20 sentiant, præterire neminem possit. Restat jam tibi sola Græcarum literarum professio: ergo hoc ego *crimini* tibi do, quòd Græcas literas es professus: ergo ego *Græcas literas, earumque professores cogo in ordinem*. Ergo ego *Græcas literas ad ima*

some strolling bard or sophist of antiquity, do you imagine that you fulfil the unceasing duty of a pastor, which you have deserted? But he is charming and eloquent as a preacher! So he is, I think, as an orator; though if you take away his adages, 5 and the centos of versicles he has patched on, nothing can be more inelegant, immethodical, more verbose and commonplace, than the very thread and contexture of his language; nothing where you would miss more that beauty, harmony, and nervousness which distinguish an eloquent writer. There 10 is one thing, I confess, in which I have made a grievous blunder: I have called him professor of Greek, when I ought to have called him professor of sacred history: for to me, it appeared utterly incredible, and even portentous, that he should be professor of sacred history, who is himself the subject 15 and matter of so many profane histories. For the future, More, you will be more properly called by me professor of slander, than of history. And, that no one may think what I have said to be foreign to the truth, I will produce my very words, which have been quoted by yourself, and then your 20 interpretation of them, which I pronounce to be a slander; that all may be convinced, with what impudence and malice you act, as I have often shown before, and may perceive, beyond a doubt, how he tortures even sacred learning:— ‘At this time, your professorship of Greek alone remains’: 25 therefore, your being professor of Greek, I impute to you as a “crime”: therefore, I “reduce Greek learning and its professors to their proper rank”: therefore, I “refer Greek learning to the lowest rank.” Who, but yourself, would imag-

subsellia relego. Quis horum quicquam sequi præter te dixerit? ipsa malitia si operam tibi suam locasset, tale quippiam *ex meis verbis ullam in partem torquendo exprimere quî tandem potuisset?* tu hoc non solum pro verissimo tibi sumis, 5 verùm etiam ut non nasutum minus conjectorem te, quàm navum esse Calumniatorem intelligamus, *cur Græcas, inquis, literas, earumque professores cogas in ordinem, nisi me fallit animus, olfeci fucum:* Nempè Salmasius cùm esset Græcæ linguæ callentissimus, & hujus ego autoritatem elevare statu- 10 issem, id ut quoquo modo possem, Græcas literas, *cjus*, si diis placet, *regna, ad ima subsellia relegavi.* Quis calumniari solertiùs, quàm hariolari te nunc dicat? Atqui non meus ille fucus, vir sagacissime, sed tuus mucus quem olfecisti, tantummodo erat. Mihi enim cum Salmasio de Græcis non 15 magis literis quàm Calendis contestata lis erat; non illum literis vel Græcis vel Latinis sed Authoritatum & rationum ponderibus affligendum atque sternendum esse intelligebam. Hinc tu, propterea quòd omnes cupidè ambages quæris, nequid ad rem dicere cogaris, ut olim paupertatis, ita nunc 20 Græcarum literarum in laudes ridiculè sanè transcurris. Quas ego cum neque nesciam, &, si quis alias, plurimi faciam nihil profectò ineptius, nihil alienius fingere potuisti, quàm despicias à me esse Græcas literas: cùm non tibi illas, sed te illis

ine any of these to be legitimate consequences? If malice herself had hired you to do her work, who else could, after all, by any distortion, have squeezed anything of this sort from my words? You not only assume this as an undoubted truth, but

5 to let us know that you are no less a censorious expounder than a busy calumniator, you also remark, "if I am not mistaken, I have smelt out the disguised reason, why you reduce Greek learning and its professors to their proper rank": Namely, as Salmasius was eminently skilled in the Greek tongue, and as

10 I had resolved at any rate to disparage the authority of this man, I referred Greek learning, "his dominion," (please the gods) "to the lowest rank." Who will say now, that you are not equally dexterous at divining as at calumniating? But, most sagacious sir, it was not my disguised reason, but only

15 your own phlegm, that you smelt out: for my contest with Salmasius was no more about the Greek learning than the Greek Calends. I did not think that he deserved to be tormented and humbled either for his Grecian or Roman learning, but for the weight of his authorities and arguments.

20 Hence, because you are glad to make all manner of shifts, that you may avoid saying anything to the purpose, as you formerly went out of your way to praise poverty, so do you now make a most ridiculous digression to the praises of Greek learning; in which, as I am no novice—as I, if any one, value

25 it at the highest price—you could, in truth, have invented nothing more absurd, more inconsistent, than that I hold Grecian learning in contempt. I did not say that Grecian learning was a disgrace to you, but that you were a disgrace

probro esse dixerim. Sed hæc tua perpetua ferè ratio est; ubi non factis criminibus urgeris, ut ne obmutuisse planè videaris, data tibi esse à me criminī quælibet fingis, aut absurdā quævis & falsissimā de me inseris, eaque in primis quæ dicta nun-
5 quam sunt, refutanda arripis: Hic strepis, hic tumultuaris, hic te jactas. Si adulterii te postulo, paupertatem scilicet con-
temno; paupertas tibi contra me toto penu loculorum tuorum defendenda est: Si stupri arguo, Græcas literas nimirum vel-
lico; Græcarum literarum obtrectator oppugnandus tibi
10 sum: Sic tu vera factis eludere conaris, ut hoc fumo excitato occultare turpem fugam & convictissimi sontis pudorem atque silentium possis. Vide autem, dum Græcas literas tam veteratoriè laudas, ut irascantur tibi Literæ Latinæ; tuumque *jecur latinum*, ut satis sanum non sit. *Quota pars hæc est*,
15 inquis, *sputorum & alaporum?* Næ tu masculum tibi ala-
pum hoc solœcismo meruisti; nam fœmineas esse alapas quas tot sensisti, mirum non est si invitus agnoscas. Verùm hæc missa faciamus; levia sunt, vetera sunt; alius repente homo
jam factus est Morus; ad sanitatem jamjamque est redditurus;
20 gradum unum atque alterum fecit; paulò veracior, paulò can-
didior ab Rhetorica Diaboli (sic enim calumniam suprà no-
minat) ad Rheticam transit Juliani. *Vicisti*, inquis, *Miltone*.
Hanc nempe vocem, ut ille olim (ne non Apostata satis ger-

to it. But almost your invariable plan is—when you are not busied with fictitious crimes, that you may not appear to be struck quite dumb, you feign something or other which I have imputed to you as a crime, or insert any foolish and groundless tales about me, seizing those first for refutation which have never been told. Here it is that you make your clamour, that you raise your uproar, that you make your boasts. If I accuse you of adultery, I despise poverty, forsooth; and you have to defend poverty against me with your whole stock of arguments. If I convict you of fornication, then I disparage Grecian learning; and you must oppose the disparagement of Grecian learning. Thus you try to elude truth by fiction, that you may be able to hide in this smoke you have raised your disgraceful flight, and the shame and silence of a criminal so justly condemned. But while you thus artfully extol Greek learning, see what offence you have given to Latin learning; see, your own “Latin liver” is not sufficiently sound. “When shall we have an end (you ask) of your spittings and slaps?” Indeed now you deserve a masculine slap for this solecism: for it is not to be wondered at, that you are backward to acknowledge those to have been feminine slaps, of which you have felt so many.

But let us dismiss these things; they are both trifling and stale. More is now suddenly become a new man. He is even now about to return to sanity. He has taken a step or two. A little more veracious, a little more candid, he passes from the rhetoric of the devil (for this is the appellation he above gives to calumny) to the rhetoric of Julian. “Milton (says he) you

manus per omnia videaris) veritate victus emisisti. Sed vide, ne sincerum quod est, cauponum more, mendacio statim diluas. *Confitentem, inquis, habes reum.* Ego verò reum quidem habeo; confitentem non habeo: nisi si id pro confesso est habendum quicquid tu silentio præteriisti: sic enim & libellum in nos famosum edidisse, & hosti nostro dicasse, & Anglicanam Rempublicam indignissimis modis, meque nominatim illæsus læsisse, totam denique fabulam Genevensem confiteris. Ab hac prævaricatione ad precationem quan-
10 dam artificiosè compositam te confers; sive ea tuæ fidei publicæ extrema confessio dicenda est; ad quam Deum testem invocas, tremendum fateor & testem & judicem. Multa con-
fiteris, multa ploras, peccata quidem *longè gravissima*, sed quæ ad nos nihil attineant, quia penitùs latent, & etiamnum
15 inconfessa nobis sunt. Et ista quidem si in occulto, clausisque foribus, ut peccare anteà, ita nunc precari in animum induisses, laudassem equidem te, déque benignitate & clementia divina benè sperare jussissem: nunc cum in platea media orantem te hīc reperiam, ad homines potius quam ad
20 Deum concinnatas has esse preces, & quasi ultima jacentis tuæ fidei publicæ suspiria judicarim. *Te Deus, te testem invoco, an non videant homines in corde isto quæ tu non vides.* O

have conquered." Vanquished by truth, you have uttered this expression, I suppose, like him before you, lest you should not appear, in all respects, an apostate sufficiently near of kin. But take care you do not presently dilute with a lie, like 5 virtuallers, what is sincere. "Here is your criminal (say you) making his confession." Here is a criminal indeed; but he makes no confession; unless that be considered as confessed which you have passed over in silence: for, in this way, you confess that you published an infamous libel against us, that 10 you dedicated it to our enemy, that you injured, in a most scandalous manner, the commonwealth of England, and myself in particular, though still unhurt; in this way, in fine, you confess the whole of that Geneva tale. From this prevarication, you betake yourself to a kind of praying artfully com- 15 posed; or it should be called the last dying confession of your public faith, to which you call God to witness—a tremendous witness, I own, and judge. You confess many things, lament many things, even sins which are "by far the most grievous of sins," but which do not at all concern us because they are 20 entirely concealed, and to us are still unconfessed. Yet, could you have prevailed upon yourself to pray even for these, in secret, and with closed doors, as you had before been accustomed to sin, I should indeed have commended you, and have encouraged you to hope for God's kindness and mercy. Now, 25 as I find you praying here in the open street, I cannot but think that these prayers, these last gasps, as it were, of your prostrate public faith were addressed to men, more than to God, "I call thee, O God, to witness, whether men do not see in this heart what thou seest not." What a plain and honest confes-

confessionem claram atque simplicem! immò verò quid obscurius, quid cautius, quid jureconsultius composuisse poteras, ut decem causidicos vel adhibuisse viderere, vel pertinuisse? Nam quid hoc est, obsecro? *an non videant homines* 5 *in corde isto.* Quid vident homines in corde? Urinatore hīc opus est Delio. Verùm quid quis in corde videat, viderit. Ego facta palam, audita, visa, testata refero: quas nemo meas esse calumnias sine maxima calumnia dixerit. *Longè turpior sum, inquis, re quidem vera quād illi fingunt; ob illa tot* 10 *abscondita, quorum apud te reus verè sum.* Sic tu nota ignotis, clara absconditis delere atque eluere conaris: occulta, incerta, latentia confiteris, ut explorata, certa, manifesta eò impudenteriū negare possis: ad extreum eò descendis, ut confessio- nem hanc, quasi libellum famosum de temetipso conscribas; 15 quòd faciliūs veram accusationem aliorum possis evadere. Tu hæc atque hujusmodi valere apud Deum cave existimes; apud homines certè vel mediocriter sagaces, minimè valebunt. Quòd si linguis, ut ipse ais, atque conviciis omnium jamdiu verberatus, resipuisti aliquando revera, & ad bonam frugem 20 revertisti, gaudeo. Nos te sic veram egisse pœnitentiam arbitrabimur, si tuarum in nos injuriarum & maledicentiaæ famosæ pœnituisse tandem intelligemus.

FINIS.

sion! Nay, what could you have devised more dark, more cautious, more lawyerly? for it would seem, that either you must have employed no less than ten lawyers, or have been under the most dreadful apprehensions. For what does this amount 5 to, I pray?—“Whether men do not see in this heart.” What do men see in the heart? We have need here of a Delian diver, and yet could he see what any one should see in the heart? I relate openly things which have been done, heard, seen, testified; which no one could say are my calumnies, 10 without the greatest of calumnies. “I am, indeed, far baser (you say) than they even pretend, on account of those numberless hidden crimes, of which, according to you, I am really guilty.” Thus you try to deface and wash out what is known with what is unknown, what is clear with what is hidden. You 15 confess there are things which are obscure, uncertain, concealed, that, with the greater impudence you may be able to deny them, when explored, when made certain and manifest. At last you stoop so low as to pen concerning yourself this confession (which is little short of an infamous libel) that you 20 may the more easily evade the just accusation of others. Beware how you think these and such like things will avail with God; for certain it is, that they will not avail with men even of moderate sagacity. But if lashed, as you have long been, and as you say yourself, by the tongues and the reproaches of all 25 men, you have at length repented indeed, and returned to a better course of life, I rejoice at it. We will believe your repentance to be sincere, when we shall learn that you have repented of your injuries, of your infamous slander against us.

The End.

NOTES

PRO SE DEFENSIO

THE title-page of the *Pro Se Defensio* bears the date 1655. A reprint of this edition appeared at the Hague in the course of the same year, *ex typographia A. Vlacq.* The present text is printed from photostats of the Columbia University Library copy of the original. The appended list indicates corrections made for the present edition. The Hague reprint was not collated.

PAGE 2

—5 publicè] publicē —11 acriùs] acriūs

PAGE 6

—19 experiar, parsurus] experiar. Parsurus

PAGE 12

—7 turpiter] turpitèr —8 temeritatis neque] CORRECTED
FROM THE *Errata* —20 Reipublicæ] Reipub.

PAGE 16

—2 istoc] isthoc —22 loqui] loqui loqui CORRECTED FROM
THE *Errata*

PAGE 18

—7 meritas] mæritas —12 provinciis, si faterere,] provinciis si
faterere —18 Rerumpublicarum] Rerump. —19 Reipublicæ]
Reipub.

PAGE 20

—4 Rerumpublicarum] Rerumpub. —7 Respubica] Resp.
—13 Reipublicæ] Reip.

PAGE 22

—7 Rempublicam] Rempubl. —15 Cùm] Cum

PAGE 24

—6 Hagâ] Haga —10 non esse] nonesse —13 *ex alteris*]
ex aliis alteris CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata* —22 nec] ne
—20 suâ] sua

PAGE 26

—6 tuomet ipsius] tuometipsius —11 clariùs] clarus

PAGE 28

—21 vilida,] valida

PAGE 30

—14 ferè] fere —20 leges:] leges;

PAGE 32

—7 salvâ] salva —15 potest,] potest —20 nomen,]
 nomen Morus,] Morus

PAGE 38

—1 *Hagâ Comitis]* *Hag. Com.*

PAGE 40

—15 Optimum Maximum] Opt. Max.

PAGE 42

—5 obruerere,] obruerere

PAGE 44

—1 Populo] Pop. Secunda] secunda —8 *Fides Publica]*
fides publica

PAGE 46

—4 Domino] Dom. —15—16 conflasset,] conflasset

PAGE 48

—16 Populo] pop. —21 Spiritum] Spir.

PAGE 52

—1 uni] una CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata*

PAGE 54

—18 corpore,] corpore

PAGE 56

—7 Rempublicam] Remp.

PAGE 58

—8 es,] es —10 Domini] Dom. —17 patribus,] patribus

PAGE 60

—14 doctorcule,] doctorcule —19 *Nihil minus]* *Nihilminus*

PAGE 68

—12 modò] modo

PAGE 70

—20 metiri] metire CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata*

PAGE 74

—14 queritaris] quæritaris

PAGE 76

—19 assequor,) assequor) —20 mendacissimi,) mendacissimi

PAGE 78

—3 *propiùs]* *propius* —5 *propiùs]* *propius* —11 *copiâ]*
 copia

PAGE 82

—2 *est, inquis,*] *est inquis* —5 *ipsâ]* *ipsa*

PAGE 84

—12 *Populi]* *Pop.* —19 *probarem,*] *probarem*

PAGE 90

—1-2 *justissimā*] *justissima* —12-13 *vehementiūs*] *vehementius* —21 *authorem*] *autorem*

PAGE 92

—11 *amicis*, *credo*,] *amicis* *credo*

PAGE 96

—17 *possit*,] *possit*

PAGE 98

—9 *Dominum*] *Dom.*

PAGE 100

—8 *Domino*] *Dom.* —13 *Reipublicæ*] *Reipubl.* —24 *Rempublicam*] *Rempubl.*

PAGE 102

—1 *Rempublicam*] *Rempubl.* —4 *Rempublicam*] *Rempubl.*
—10 *Reipublicæ*] *Reipubl.*

PAGE 104

—14 *Republica*] *Republ.*

PAGE 106

—5 *Reipublicæ*] *Reipubl.*

PAGE 108

—21 *adolescentes*] *adoloscentes* *esse?*] *esse*. —24 *dilacerari?*] *dilacerari*.

PAGE 110

—12 *hasta*] *hastā*, CORRECTED FROM THE *Errata*

PAGE 112

—15 *author*] *autor*

PAGE 116

—3 *Populus*] *Pop.* —6 *Ecclesia*] *Eclesia* —8 *Populo*] *Pop.*

PAGE 118

—12 *Gallicè*] *Gallicd*

PAGE 124

—14 *quemadmodum*] *quemadmodam* —15 *dixissem*,] *dixissem*

PAGE 128

—17 *properabas*, *credo*,] *properabas* *credo*

PAGE 130

—4 *meritò*] *merito*

PAGE 132

—15 *quam*] *quam* —18 *propriā*] *propria* —20 *apertiūs*] *apertius*

PAGE 142

—11 *attrahere*,] *attrahere*

PAGE 144

—19 quidem] CORRECTED BY HAND FROM THE *Errata*; AS FAR AS ONE CAN JUDGE FROM THE PHOTOSTAT, THE ORIGINAL WAS cuidem —21
diutiūs] diutius

PAGE 146

—1 diutiūs] diutius —7 vestrā] vestra constaniā] constantia
Ecclesiā] Ecclesia —13 infamīa] infamia

PAGE 148

—2 Reipublicæ] Reipub.

PAGE 150

—3 *injustā infamīa*] *injusta infamia* —4 *allaboraverunt*] *allaboraverunt*
—10 potiūs] potius —15 vivant,] vivant
—17 nostrā causā] nostra causa

PAGE 152

—6 duco,] duco

PAGE 154

—10 *sacrificulīs*,] *sacrificulīs*

PAGE 156

—6 inquis] *inquis* —20 cā *disertā*] *ea diserta*

PAGE 162

—16 liberīus] liberius —18 Romani] Rom. populi] pop.

PAGE 164

—12 *authorīs*] *autorīs* —21 *respondistī*] *respondistī* —22
minus] minus

PAGE 166

—14 cum] cùm

PAGE 168

—9 sorte] forte —17 *importunē*] *importune*

PAGE 172

—16 hâc] hac cucurbitā] cucurbita

PAGE 174

—2 *Republīca*] *Republ.* —7 est,] est

PAGE 178

—4-5 *condonāsse*] *condonāsse* —5 *leviā*,] *leviā*; —8
nimīum sanē] nimium sane

PAGE 180

—5 inquam,] inquam

PAGE 182

—17 garris,] garris

PAGE 184

4-5 est *appellantus*] *estappellantus*

PAGE 186

—5 *interposita*,] *interposita* —14 *ipsâ*] *ipsa* —15 *inopiâ*]
inopia *ipsâ*] *ipsa* —20 *demissâ barbâ*] *demissa barba*

PAGE 188

—8 *agitatum*,] *agitatum*

PAGE 190

—14 *Hagâ*] *Haga* —15 *quidem*,] *quidem* —16-17
præclarè] *præclare*

PAGE 192

—7 *queraris*] *quæraris* —12 *honestissimi*,] *honestissimi*

PAGE 194

—1 *sunt*, *inquis*,] *sunt inquis* —3 *quâm*] *quâm* —7
Genevâ] *Geneva*

PAGE 196

—10 *solâ*] *sola* —14 *Basileâ*] *Basilea*

PAGE 200

—1 *inutiliùs*] *inutilius* —4 *penitùs*] *penitus* —11 *semel*,
inquit,] *semel inquit* —13 *altâ*] *alia* —15 *subtùs*] *subtus*

PAGE 204

—7 *quâ*] *qua* —10 *suâ*] *sua* —16 *palâm*] *palam*

PAGE 206

—13 *nullâ*] *nulla*

PAGE 210

—19 *Sapies*,] *Sapies*

PAGE 214

—5-6 *integritatem*] *integritatem*, —16 *meâmet*] *meamet*
 —17 *sententiâ*] *sententia*

PAGE 216

—9 *quâm*] *quam*

PAGE 218

—4 *tantâ*] *tanta* —5 *jacturâ*] *jactura*

PAGE 224

—18 *immô*] *immô* *palâm*] *palam* —21 *debitâ*] *debita*
his,] *his*

PAGE 234

—4-5 *haudquaquam*] *haud quaquam* —21 *appulisti*,] *appulisti*

PAGE 242

—7-8 *suspiciosissimum*] *suspicioseum*

PAGE 244

—4 *palâm vehementissimèque*] *palam vehementissimeq*; —18-
 19 *Synodorum*,] *Synodorum*

PAGE 248

—4-5 Rempublicam] Rempubl. —12 audacissimi] audicissimi

PAGE 250

—19 *authoritas*] *autoritas*

PAGE 262

—7 Rempublicam] Rempubl. —17 *authoritatem*] *autoritatem*

—22 Consules et Prætores] Consules Prætores

PAGE 264

—1 Verrem] verrem —3 *tuae*] *tu* —13 *maxima*,] *maxima*

PAGE 266

—8 *possit?*] *possit.* —11 *testantur,*] *testantur* —12 *diutius*] *diutius:*

PAGE 272

—16 *commeatu*] *comeatu*

PAGE 274

—16 *possunt,*] *possunt*

PAGE 276

—20 *nimiâ*] *nimia*

PAGE 278

—20 *Recognosco*] *R ecognosco* Orestis] O restis

PAGE 280

—8 *nunc,*] *nunc* —9 *impunitate,*] *impunitate* facis,] *facis*—11 *Erras,*] *Erras* —15 *illâ*] *illa* —16 *gratiâ*] *gratia*—20 *possum,*] *possum*

PAGE 282

—19 *authoratus*] *autoratus* —22 *reverâ*] *reverâ*

PAGE 284

—2 *verò,*] *verò*

PAGE 290

—15 *inquis*] *inquis*

PAGE 292

—7 Rempublicam] Rempubl. —14 *attineant,*] *attineant*

NOTES ON THE TRANSLATION

PAGE 5

—23-24, 10 Scipio's career is used to point a moral in Livy 38.53 and Seneca, *Epistle* 86.

PAGE 49

—4 *Cæcus*, 'blind man', makes a pun here with *cæcias*, 'northeast wind.'

PAGE 53

—2 Alexander the Phrygian is Paris, the lover of Helen.
 —22 The reference is to Socrates.

PAGE 61

—8 'Phimostomus' means 'muzzlemouth.'

PAGE 63

—6 The line is from Vergil, *Aeneid* 6.401. Honey and honey drink were used to pacify the guardians of Hades.

PAGE 65

—19-20 The lines are from Proverbs 17.15.

—27 The Latin *morio* ('scaramouch') makes a pun with Moré's name (*Morus*).

PAGE 67

—20 *Morus* ('More') makes a pun with *morus* ('foolish fellow').

PAGE 71

—8 Adrian Vlacq is of some importance in the development of logarithms.

PAGE 77

—9 Proverbs 30.20.

PAGE 79

—25 Absence of guilt as well as of desert is signified by *immeritus*.

PAGE 81

—16 Cotytto and Laverna are deities respectively of lewdness and fraud.

PAGE 87

—27 The same Latin word represents 'front' in this passage as represents 'title-page' immediately above.

PAGE 93

—11-12 Allusion is made here to 1 Samuel 12.3.

—13 Cacus stole Hercules' cattle; *Cacus pastor* ('Cacus of a herdsman') means, by a pun on the Greek meaning of Cacus, 'base pastor.'

—15 The Phrygian Alexander forsook Cénone for Helen.

—27 More is spoken of as 'a favorite of Venus' (as was his Phrygian namesake) because of his amorous proclivities. 'Juno refers to Salmasius' wife.

PAGE 95

—17-22 'Floral pastimes', 'fig-tree', 'mulberry', 'sycomore', are allusions to Milton's obscene punning in the *Second Defense* (page 33 and notes). The primitive Roman 'Fescennine games' were notoriously lascivious.

PAGE 97

—4 Cicero's oration *In Vatinium* is a rather coarse investigation of the

private life of a creature of Caesar. The pun on *Morus* here referred to occurs on page 31 of the *Second Defense*.

PAGE 109

—24 Piso is quoted from Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 9.22. Cicero there remarks, *at hodie 'penis' est in obscenis*. The entire letter deals with prudishness in speech and its influence on the present passage is clear. The use of the Greek word for 'plain-spoken' (110, 21) makes a direct allusion to Cicero's letter, where it is similarly used.

—26 Sallust, *Bellum Catilinum* 14.2.

PAGE 111

—19 Numbers 25.8.

—20 Job 31.9–10.

—26 Coarse words are *written* (*ketib*) in the current, or Masoretic, texts of the Hebrew bible, but a marginal note indicates that in *reading* (*keri*) another, euphemistic, word is to be substituted.

PAGE 113

—2 Cicero discusses decorum in *De Officiis* 1.93. In 1.104 he calls the raillery of Plautus, the Attic Old Comedy, and the books of Socratic philosophy *elegans, urbanum, ingeniosum, facetum*.

PAGE 117

—13 The *ædile* at Rome supervised the public spectacles.

PAGE 119

—11 Tisiphone's name shows her an avenging goddess.

PAGE 121

—6 Horace (*Satires* 1.5.32) uses 'a man made to a nail's breadth' (*homo ad unguem factus*) for an elegant and fastidious person.

—8 This is probably an allusion to Martial 9.15:

*Inscripsit tumulis septem scelerata virorum
Se fecisse Chloe: quid pote simplicius.*

'Quite truly did Chloe inscribe on the tombstones of her seven husbands: "Done by Chloe".'

—12 See on 71, 8.

PAGE 125

—3 Narcissus fell violently in love with himself when he saw his likeness reflected in a pool.

PAGE 127

—14 The passage in Cicero (*Pro Sex. Roscio Amerino* 89) is not identical, but near enough to justify Milton's charge. It reads: *neque ego non possum; non enim tantum mihi derogo, tametsi nihil adrogo, ut te copiosius quam me putem posse dicere.*

PAGE 129

—23 The 'Attic Nights' of Aulus Gellius are chiefly literary conversations.

—26 The Latin puns *libros* ('books') with *liberos* ('children').

PAGE 137

—5 The 'old, obscene keeper of the gardens' is Priapus, who was always represented with a colossal penis. Horace, Satires 1.8.1–2 (a passage which Milton probably had in mind here) says these figures were usually made of fig wood. 'Mulberry' (*Morus*) therefore makes an apt pun.

—11 When Cicero had delivered his first oration against Verres, Verres betook himself to flight rather than to legal defense.

PAGE 139

—14 Fama is not usually limited to a hundred mouths. Vergil's classic description (*Aeneid* 4.173 ff.) gives her as many as she has feathers.

PAGE 149

—4 Äschines' oration against Timarchus charges that Timarchus had forfeited the right to address the people by reason of his immoral conduct.

PAGE 163

—16–19 This anecdote is from Cicero, *Verrines* 3.1.3.

PAGE 169

—23 *Morus* is 'fool', *Momus* is 'disgrace' (both are from the Greek).

PAGE 175

—11 'Salt-money' is the original significance of *salarium* ('salary'). The humor of the entire passage turns on the classic use of 'salt' for 'wit'.

—25–177, 5 Cicero, *De oratore* 2.56, 227.

PAGE 183

—4 Cicero, *De Oratore*, 2.43, 182.

PAGE 185

—4–8 *Second Defense*, 95, 27 ff.

PAGE 189

—10 Juno tormented Io first by means of Argus and then with a gadfly. The point in this allusion lies in More's reference to Salmasius' wife, who persecuted him, as Juno.

PAGE 197

—22 In Genesis 16.12 this expression is used of Ishmael (199, 2).

PAGE 201

—26 There are allusions to the *Birds* of Aristophanes throughout this paragraph.

PAGE 219

—20 1 Timothy 3.7.

PAGE 232

—*Sartorius* ('the mender') makes a pun with 'mending'.

PAGE 241

—4 'Praised, and sent about your business' (*laudandum te esse atque*

tollendum) is an allusion to the famous expression applied to Octavian (Cicero, *Ad Familiares* 11.20.1): *laudandum adulescentem, ornandum, tollendum*.

—27 L. Cassius Longinus introduced secret balloting for Roman juries.

PAGE 245

—13 The allusion is to Vulcan's forging a net about Mars and Venus as they were joined in love: Homer, *Odyssey*, 8.309-ff.

PAGE 255

—24-25 Paul called Ananias a 'whited wall': Acts 23.3.

PAGE 263

—25 The use of the two Greek words in conjunction (262, 20) representing 'for their virtue or for their wealth' makes a direct reference to Aristotle, *Politics* 2.11.8.

PAGE 279

—1 The etymological meaning of Beelzebub is 'Lord of Flies'.

—26 'Rival of Orestes' means 'madman'. The unemended Latin text makes Milton retort *O restis æmule*, 'O rival of the rope', which might be a hint at the hangman's noose.

PAGE 281

—24 The Emperor Claudius is reported to have been poisoned by mushrooms: Suetonius, *Claudius* 44.

PAGE 285

—10 Attalus king of Pergamum (see line 20) represents great wealth in Latin literature. The present expression is an allusion to Horace, *Odes* 1.1.12: *Attalicis conditionibus Numquam dimoveas*, 'not even on Attalic terms could you induce a farmer to turn seaman'.

—23 The priests of Cybele, the Phrygian mother, were emasculated, and so Milton, in view of his charges, must remark this exception. The Curetes were Corybantic priests who used castanets.

PAGE 289

—17 The 'Greek Calends' (there were none) was a favorite expression of Augustus for 'never' or 'nothing': Suetonius, *Augustus* 87.

PAGE 291

—19 For 'slaps' More had written *alaporum* (masculine) instead of the proper feminine form *alaporum*.

—28 At his death Julian the Apostate is said to have said *Vicisti Galilæe* (Galilean, you have conquered).

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